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## AZRO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HILDRETH.

BY GEORGE D. PERKINS.

When I came to Iowa in the latter part of the second month in the year 1860 and engaged with my brother in planting a newspaper at Cedar Falls, in Black Hawk county, Azro Benjamin Franklin Hildreth had been established in like business at Charles City, Floyd county, since the summer of 1856. Floyd county is in the second tier of counties north of Black Hawk, and by that measure in that early day it was deeper in the wilderness. Mr. Hildreth was my senior by exactly twenty-four years, for we were born in the same month and on the same day of the month, which time, rather oddly, was the 29th of February. What attracted my early attention, however, was the fact that Mr. Hildreth was at the head of his class in Cedar valley.

My first meeting with Mr. Hildreth was during the political campaign of 1864. The late Senator Allison was first chosen to the House of Representatives in 1862, and in 1864 he was elected to his second term. Prior to 1862 the State was divided into two congressional districts, as defined in the act of 1847 and the amendatory acts of 1848 and 1857. The census of 1860 gave Iowa a largely increased population, an increase of more than 250 per cent. in ten years. Under the ratio fixed by Congress the State was entitled to six representatives in Congress, and under the act of 1862 districts were made accordingly. The Third District included the counties of Dubuque, Clayton, Allamakee, Winneshiek, Howard, Mitchell, Buchanan, Floyd, Chickasaw, Bremer, Fayette and Delaware. Black Hawk was in the Sixth District, which included Marshall, Story, Boone, and that line of counties to the Missouri River, and all counties west of the Third District and north to the State line. There was no railroad north or west of Cedar Falls. I was invited to join the Allison party for the north-

ern excursion, and it was on that trip that I first saw Mr. Hildreth and his famous printing-office.

Mr. Hildreth was a New Englander of the old school. He was forty years of age when he came to Iowa, and his steady habits he brought with him. He was born in the town of Chelsea, Orange county, Vermont, on the 29th of February, 1816. His father was Daniel Hildreth, a native of Massachusetts. While residing in New Hampshire, Daniel Hildreth married Clarissa Tyler, a native of that State. Another branch of the Tyler family produced John Tyler, who was elected Vice-President of the United States in 1840 on the ticket with William Henry Harrison, and who succeeded to the Presidency upon the death of Harrison in 1841. The Hildreths trace their genealogy back to Richard Heildreich who reached Massachusetts colony in 1640, twenty years after the arrival at Plymouth Rock of the precious cargo of the *Mayflower*. He was so well thought of that he was made the recipient of a grant of 150 acres of colony land.

The blood of the fathers was in the veins of A. B. F. Hildreth. He was the first born of twelve children, equally divided as to sex. He was brought up in the New England way, industrially and religiously. The Hildreths were farmers, and had been time out of mind, and Azro's early years were passed in close intimacy with agricultural pursuits. The name Azro was his mother's choice, and Benjamin Franklin was interjected by his father, out of admiration for the great man of Philadelphia. It was a good deal of a name for a young man to carry, and in course of time he came to be known to the family in general as Frank, though the mother stuck to her first choice.

Mr. Hildreth admitted late in life that his name had to do with the direction of his ambitions. He was perhaps temperamentally exceptional in his family in his love of books. This was so marked that it entered into the plan of his father to assist the young man to a college education, but the plan did not mature. He had the opportunities common to the New England boy of his class, but he improved these opportunities in an uncommon way. At the age of four years he was per-



mitted to enter the district school, and "his young heart leaped for joy." During his school days "it was his constant effort and pride to stand at the head of his class, and in this he was successful beyond the majority of his schoolmates." Aside from the district schools, he attended academies of the neighborhood, and the branches taught in these "institutions of learning" were such as "were deemed most essential in the ordinary transaction of business." Such was his industry and capacity that at the age of sixteen years he was engaged to teach a district school. He was successful in that undertaking, the more to his credit because among his pupils he had "grown up" young men and young women. "The large girls called him their beardless schoolmaster." His reports of that experience indicate that he was conscious of his youth, his weight of 113 pounds, and of what the school might be thinking of his assumption of mastery. This first school over which he presided was at Piermont, N. H. For several years he taught school during the winter and during the summer worked on the farm, an experience common to bright young fellows of his time in the New England States. Among other things he made himself a master of penmanship, and he occupied available time in this relation after he was through with the winter terms. He taught writing school at different times in Vermont, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. He wasted no time. He not only looked to an honest penny, but he neglected no opportunity to better his education. Before taking up his winter school teaching, he was glad to attend the fall term of a neighboring academy. By hard work and persistence he provided himself with a liberal education.

In 1891 a little book was printed in Charles City, dedicated "to the wide-awake, enterprising and go-ahead boys and girls of the American union," the copy for which was provided by Mr. Hildreth and turned over to the late Charles Aldrich, founder of the Historical Department of Iowa, to edit. Mr. Aldrich had suggested to Mr. Hildreth that he ought to write and publish his biography, and it appeared that Mr. Hildreth had the manuscript prepared. Mr. Aldrich consented to act as editor, "although I knew," as he sets forth in the preface,

“that any writing which came from Mr. Hildreth’s pen would require little at the hands of any editor.” In preparing this sketch I shall borrow from this book, and at this point the following is introduced:

When only nine years old, little Azro was placed in a private boarding house in Chelsea village for the purpose of attending the high school there. Among the different branches of study given him was that of English grammar. In a few weeks he had committed to memory and recited to his teacher the entire contents of his grammar book, a text-book prepared by Prof. Rufus Nutting, at that time principal of Randolph, Vt., Academy. The teacher of the high school had not taken much pains to explain the rules laid down in the grammar book. But one day, while visiting home, the mother, who was a good grammarian for those days, gave the lad some lessons in parsing, and showed him the relations which words composing a sentence bore to each other. When required to apply the rules which he had memorized, he at once saw their application, and from that time ever afterwards he was fond of the study and became an excellent grammarian. Usually, with most students, grammar is a dry, dull study, and is generally disliked by new beginners. Not so with Azro. He was delighted whenever the grammar class was called for recitation or for exercise in parsing.

I am prepared to believe this. In my early experience in Cedar Falls the fact was developed that Mr. Hildreth retained his partiality for English grammar. I had printed something indicating a difference of opinion on some matter dealt with by *The Intelligencer*. Mr. Hildreth’s reply was brief, devoted mainly to pointing out an error in grammar. It may be that I wished I had not provoked the reply, but the lesson was of such benefit to me that I doubt whether I have made the same error since.

When Mr. Hildreth was nineteen he had plans to go to Michigan in company with Washington A. Bacon, a farmer’s son of the neighborhood, who had settled in Detroit. Young Hildreth expected to continue his studies in the west and he entered into the arrangement most heartily. He was to meet his friend in Albany, New York, and thither, with much solicitude on the part of his parents, he repaired. The business of young Bacon in the east was to procure a wife; and, for



some strange reason, he did not meet young Hildreth in Albany. The disappointed Azro took a steamboat and landed in New York. He found temporary employment in the publishing house of Thomas George, Jr., at No. 4 Spruce Street. Then he was taken sick. Before his landlady really turned him out under conviction that he had smallpox, it was developed that he had a case of measles. On his recovery he went to Paterson, New Jersey, where he engaged himself to teach a select school. But Mr. George sent for the young man to come back; and when he presented himself again at No. 4 Spruce Street, "the office boy told Mr. Hildreth that he had heard Mr. George say he was determined to have Mr. Hildreth if he could find him, for he knew he was honest." The incident goes to show that office boys were as office boys now, and that the perplexities of men in business then had much in common with the perplexities of men in business at the present time.

But another change was in store for the young man; and let the book explain:

Mr. Hildreth remained in the employment of Mr. George during the season of 1836 and enjoyed his fullest confidence. He was often entrusted with large sums of money, and was frequently sent out to make collections, not only in the city but to the various cities up and down North river, out in New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island. In the fall he was sent to Vermont for the purpose of establishing agencies for the sale of his employer's publications, with the privilege of visiting his home and enjoying a winter vacation, fully expecting to return to New York in the spring. But when spring came there came with it the great financial crash of 1837, and Thomas George, Jr., his employer, went down in the general ruin. All the banks in the United States suspended payment, thousands and thousands of business men failed, and it was said that 40,000 clerks in New York city were thrown out of employment.

There was nothing for the young man to do but to resume work on his father's farm. Soon, however, an opening was presented to him to learn the trade of a printer in the office of William Hewes in Chelsea. When he had completed his engagement with Mr. Hewes, young Hildreth went again to New York, where he found employment on the *American*

*Family Magazine*, published by J. S. Redfield, at No. 13 Chamber Street. Subsequently he was employed on the *Christian Intelligencer*, the organ of the Dutch Reformed church. The office was in Ann Street, and in the same building Horace Greeley was making a hard struggle with his *New Yorker*. "On one Saturday," Mr. Hildreth remembered, "Mr. Greeley, failing to obtain money enough to pay off his help, sat down and cried over his hard luck."

In 1839, being then twenty-three years of age, Mr. Hildreth determined to go into business for himself. He located in Lowell, Mass., and began the publication of a weekly paper called the *Literary Souvenir*. He added a daily publication called the *Morning News* and a semi-monthly publication called the *Ladies' Literary Repository*. The daily failed for want of sufficient support, and in the winter of 1842 he sold the *Souvenir* and *Repository* to a Methodist clergyman and an abolitionist lecturer, the purchase price being mainly in notes given by these enterprising reformers, and the notes were never paid.

Mr. Hildreth then went to Boston, where he connected himself with the printing house of S. N. Dickinson, on Washington Street; and Mr. Hildreth entertained the opinion that no man in America up to that time had done more than Mr. Dickinson to improve the art of printing.

But in the fall of 1842 Mr. Hildreth was induced to go to Bradford, Vermont, and re-establish himself in the newspaper business. He started the *American Protector*, of Whig politics and an earnest pleader for a high protective tariff, with Henry Clay as the ideal candidate for president. After the defeat of Clay in 1844, the *Protector* gave way to the *Vermont Family Gazette*. He added the *Green Mountain Gem*, and the revenue from the two publications gave him a comfortable support. In 1852, having been ten years in Bradford, Mr. Hildreth sold out to a returned Californian, Ezra Southworth, who paid the purchase price in gold. The establishment was removed to White River Junction, Vermont, and a little later the entire property was consumed by fire.



Mr. Hildreth's last stand in New England was at Holyoke, Massachusetts, to which place he removed in 1853, after settling up his business at Bradford. At Holyoke he established the *Mirror*, which he conducted until the fall of 1855, when he sold to M. C. Pratt. Mr. Hildreth made money in Holyoke, but he was induced to sell "by the more flattering temptations held out to him by parties then interested in opening up a new and magnificent town in the then far west, viz.: Charles City, in Floyd county, Iowa."

When Mr. Hildreth arrived in Charles City, in the spring of 1856, he found himself in a new world. The change exhilarated him. His spirits were buoyant and his hope bright. "Here" was opened before him a broad field for enterprise and usefulness." Business was not overdone in his new home. Newcomers were not set upon by angry competitors and treated as interlopers. Men were wanted and welcomed. The situation at this distance, however, was not altogether alluring, as may be gathered from this summary:

In those early days Charles City contained a population of only a few hundred. Not a dozen frame houses were to be seen in the whole town, the others being built of logs and several families were "dwellers in tents." Provisions were very scarce and could only be obtained at high prices. The few settlers who had come into the county during the previous year had raised but a small quantity of farm produce, not nearly enough to supply the rapidly increasing demand of the immigrants who succeeded them. The nearest market was Dubuque, distant 145 miles, and thither teams were dispatched to procure the necessities of life.

The first white settlement in Floyd county was made by Joseph Kelly, who established his home on the site of a deserted Indian village on the Cedar River, formerly the home of Chief White Cloud and his band of Winnebagoes. In 1853 Mr. Kelly laid out a part of his claim into town lots and named the place St. Charles. This was the Charles City which offered welcome to Mr. Hildreth in 1856, the county seat of Floyd county. In 1858 there was a vote on the question of removing the county seat to the geographical center of the county, and Charles City lost by a vote of 453 to 434; but in subsequent proceedings, in some way known to early

history, actual removal was prevented. Mr. Hildreth from the first found plenty to engage his attention.

Mr. Hildreth had purchased his newspaper outfit in New York, and he had also bought in that market a chest of carpenter's tools. During his first months in Charles City he was carpenter and builder, and he was boss mechanic on the job of putting up the "Intelligencer Building." Much of the material he delivered on his own back from the Kelly saw-mill. The building was made two stories, the first story for mercantile purposes and the second story for his printing-office. On the 31st of July, 1856, he issued the first number of the *Republican-Intelligencer*. It is presumed that he took the name from the *Christian Intelligencer* upon which he had been employed in New York. Bishop Berkeley's line, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," was made the motto of the *Republican-Intelligencer*. The first impression of the paper was sold at auction and brought \$20. Such was the demand for the paper that three editions were printed of 1,000 each. In 1857 the paper was enlarged, though prematurely, as the hard times of that and the following year brought proof, but Mr. Hildreth permitted no backward step. In 1862 the name of the paper was changed to *Hildreth's Charles City Intelligencer*. Business conditions in the Cedar valley were improved by the Civil War, and general prosperity attended all of Mr. Hildreth's business affairs.

Mr. Hildreth made the *Intelligencer* first-class. He put into it the best of his life. He made it representative of his high moral standards, and he made it in a large sense independent in politics. The paper was always Republican, but it did not favor men calling themselves Republicans apart from the principles he held to as his guide. Necessarily he met with opposition, but he had the courage to meet it, and talk of killing the paper did not alarm him. He neither fell under the influence of designing men, nor did he at any time lower the standard of his paper. He kept his paper clean. He extended his strict rules to advertising matter, and advertising he thought objectionable he excluded, though the money temptation at times was severe.



On the 1st of October, 1870, after a little more than fourteen years of hard work with the *Intelligencer*, Mr. Hildreth sold the paper to Dyke and Rowell, and permanently retired from the business. He was then in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

The book giving Mr. Hildreth's memoirs says:

Among Mr. Hildreth's contemporaries, during nearly fifteen years of editorial life in Iowa, may be mentioned your humble editor, Charles Aldrich, then of the *Hamilton County* [Webster City] *Freeman*; Frank W. Palmer and J. M. Dixon, of the *Des Moines Register*; Clark Dunham, of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*; L. D. Ingersoll, of the *Knoxville Journal*; John Mahin, of the *Muscatine Journal*; J. B. Howell, of the *Keokuk Gate City*; Charles Beardsley and Lieut.-Gov. Needham, of the *Oskaloosa Herald*; Perkins brothers, of the *Cedar Falls Gazette*; N. H. Brainerd, of the *Iowa City Republican*; Lieut.-Gov. Gue, of the *Fort Dodge North-West*; Ed Russell, of the *Davenport Gazette*; Tom Drummond, of the *Vinton Eagle*; Willis Drummond, of the *McGregor News*; J. L. McCreery and Jesse Clement, of the *Dubuque Times*; Frank M. Mills, of the *Des Moines School Journal*; and many others who might be named—all of whom left their impress upon the institutions and habits and character of the people of Iowa.

Of this list the writer of this sketch knows of but one who is still in active newspaper work, and with few exceptions all others mentioned have departed from this world.

Enough has been said to suggest that Mr. Hildreth brought his religion with him from New England. He was one of the incorporators of the First Congregational Society in Charles City, and was for several years chairman of its board of trustees. The church was organized in 1858, and five women and three men at that time constituted the entire membership. Mr. Hildreth himself was inclined toward the Unitarian wing of the New England Congregationalists, but in his new home he was free to enter into the church relation indicated as the next best thing.

Mr. Hildreth always took a deep interest in the cause of education. In 1858 he was elected to the State Board of Education, representing a district composed of the counties of Allamakee, Winneshiek, Howard, Mitchell, Floyd, Chickasaw, Fayette, Clayton, Bremer and Butler. The State was divided

into eleven districts, and Mr. Hildreth's was the Tenth. The board held biennial sessions in Des Moines and had control of all the educational interests of the State, aside from such as were represented in private and sectarian institutions. Mr. Hildreth took an important part in the business of the board. He was a strong advocate of co-education, and he was most influential in the work of securing legislation requiring that the State University, located at Iowa City, be opened to young women the same as to young men. His success in this undertaking gave him much satisfaction. A few years later he was privileged to address the students of the University at a chapel meeting, and he confessed that it was one of the proudest moments of his life to appear there in the presence of more than 200 young women students and nearly as many young men students. For many years Mr. Hildreth was a member of the school board of Charles City and much of the time its president. He took an active interest in the free public library of the city, contributed money and books and his valuable counsel. When it passed under the control of the city, he was elected one of the directors and continued in that relation several years. Wherever educational work was to be done Mr. Hildreth was qualified to lead.

In the early part of the Civil War Gov. Kirkwood appointed Mr. Hildreth draft commissioner for Floyd county. He attended faithfully to the duties of the place, disagreeable as they might be. In a letter to his mother, August 24, 1862, he said:

On Friday the mail brought me an appointment from the governor of the state as "commissioner of draft for Floyd county," devolving upon me the duty of appointing an examining surgeon and an enrolling officer, and attending to and managing all the business of drafting soldiers in the several townships in this county for the war. This is a very responsible and at the same time unpleasant duty. The unpleasantness rises from the fact that, while this business is being transacted, nearly every family is in a state of suspense and anxiety lest a husband, a father, a son, a brother, may be drafted; snatched from them, and at once hurried off to the war. Great prudence and discretion are needed in the transaction of this business, and a large amount of writing and correspondence with



the governor and adjutant general has to be done. I shall endeavor to do my duty as faithfully as possible, without favor or partiality. The war feeling all through this country is intense. Ten companies were called for from this congressional district, and we have already raised twenty-five—all done within two weeks! Oh, what a terrible war this is! The world has hardly ever known the like of it. Possibly we shall never be able to subdue the south, but I hope so. We shall be borne down with taxes for many years to come.

Fortunately, no draft was required in Floyd county, nor in Iowa.

In 1863 Mr. Hildreth was elected to the Legislature from the fifty-fourth representative district, and the following January took his seat as a member of the Tenth General Assembly. He was made chairman of the committee on schools and State University, and had membership on the committee on banks and banking and the committee on printing. He was greatly interested in the proposed line of railroad west from McGregor. He secured the adoption of a strong memorial to Congress asking for a grant of land to aid in the construction of the proposed line. Previous efforts to obtain favorable congressional action had failed, and Mr. Hildreth applied himself to the task with his accustomed energy and prudence. He was constant in his correspondence with the Iowa senators and representatives, and the grant was made under act of May 12, 1864. Mr. Allison, under date of May 5, 1864, wrote to Mr. Hildreth as follows:

I have succeeded in getting through the house for you my McGregor land grant bill. It will also pass the senate; probably today. This bill is preferable to Senator Harlan's for the reason that it is of present benefit to the railroad company. Mr. Harlan's bill only allowed the railroad company co-terminous sections of land to road actually built, thus compelling them to build 150 miles or more of road before they could get any lands. Under my bill they draw lands for every ten miles, and must build twenty miles each and every year or forfeit the grant. Mr. Harlan will accept the proposition. Judge Hubbard, from Sioux City, has faithfully stood by me in the matter, although seemingly against his interest. But he believes with me that it is better to give the company immediate aid so as to insure the completion of the road, at least to the Cedar river valley, without delay.

The act of 1864 was amendatory of the general land grant act of 1862. Originally it was supposed the road would connect with the Sioux City and Pacific, but conditions changed the early plans materially. The McGregor road was built as far west as Algona, which was reached in 1870, and there it halted for a number of years; but subsequently it was extended, as a part of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul system, to Chamberlain, S. D., on the Missouri River. This was the first railroad to enter Charles City, and was soon followed by the Cedar Falls and Minnesota, which became a part of the Illinois Central system.

Mr. Hildreth's other important work during his legislative service chiefly related to school matters. He introduced "a bill for an act to provide for the loan of the permanent school fund, and fixing the rate of interest thereon, and limiting the price at which school lands may be sold, and for other purposes." The bill was intended to correct existing abuses. A bill passed the house as a substitute for Mr. Hildreth's bill which simply regulated the rate of interest. In the senate he had three of the most important sections of his bill incorporated, and in this amended form the bill was returned to the house. The following from Mr. Hildreth's record will show the subsequent proceeding:

Being chairman of the standing committee on schools and state university, Mr. H. allowed the matter to lie quietly until near the close of the session, waiting for a favorable opportunity to call it up in the house. Accordingly, one evening, when the members felt humorous and had got parliamentary matters into some confusion, Mr. H. hinted the matter to the speaker, who was favorable to the bill and promised to aid in its passage. In due time the bill was called up, when, without debate, and not many knowing what they were voting on, the bill was passed by sixty-eight yeas to four nays, and thus a stop was put to the waste of the school money.

At the expiration of his term in the Legislature Mr. Hildreth was not disposed to continue the service, and the explanation is given in the following extract from a letter, under date of March 16, 1865, addressed to his mother:

It would indeed afford me pleasure to accept your invitation to call and eat maple sugar with you. I should enjoy it as much as



I did the raspberries with milk which you gathered and gave me the last time that I saw you. But I do not see how I can visit you at present. I have no suitable person to leave my business with. Good journeymen are so scarce and charge so high that I cannot afford to hire suitable hands, and my present printers would ruin everything were I to leave them in charge of my affairs. On this account I must decline going to the legislature again, although I should like to go and the people would like to send me.

No one could attend to the *Intelligencer* just as well as Mr. Hildreth could himself, and absence from home caused him much uneasiness. For something like a kindred reason, Horace Greeley found his service as a member of the house of representatives at Washington irksome, and he cut it short. He fretted constantly over the *Tribune*, and his letters home did not add to the joy of living in the *Tribune* office. Nor was Mr. Hildreth well adapted to personal politics. It is enough to say, by way of explanation, that he believed the office should seek the man.

Probably the bother over suitable help assisted Mr. Hildreth to his conclusion to sell his newspaper business. Possibly he was beginning to think of himself as an old man; at least, as a man entitled to a rest. When he sold in 1870 he was in his 55th year. He had been a hard worker from boyhood; he was in comfortable circumstances, and he desired the liberty which the disposal of his newspaper would provide.

Mr. Hildreth was not much of a traveler. He made a home visit in 1876, but both his parents were dead. His father died in 1858 in his 76th year, and his mother died in 1870, also in her 76th year. When he came west he expected in a few years to return to New England to make his permanent home. He had held out the promise to his mother in 1861 that he would pay her a visit, but he had to withdraw it. In a letter to her, under date of May 28, 1861, he said:

And now I must say that it looks as if I shall not go east this season. I had begun to lay by some money for the journey, when the banks failed (in Illinois and Wisconsin) and their money will not pass anywhere. It will sometime be redeemed at a large discount, but I don't know when. The war is causing very hard times. My business amounts to nothing, and, everything considered,

I fear I shall be disappointed in making my contemplated journey. However, we must submit to all our disappointments and afflictions as well as we can.

Business, however, was better the next year, as the following to his mother, under date of June 19, 1862, goes to show :

I had a very good journey to Milwaukee. I purchased me some clothing and groceries, also various things for Liveria [his wife] such as a beautiful bonnet, mantilla, two dresses, a gold chain for her watch (she has a nice gold watch), and various knickknacks. . . . I am having me a nice buggy made. When in Milwaukee I bought a plated harness. Father Knight [his wife's father] has bought a horse, and we intend to enjoy a ride occasionally, notwithstanding we work so hard. Now, mother, don't think we are extravagant. I should not pay out money to buy these things, but many of my patrons, who have printing and advertising, wish me to take such pay, and would not patronize me unless I would do so. I shall have to go to Milwaukee and Chicago in September, and my going to Vermont at that time will depend upon whether I can be absent from home long enough to go there, in addition to the time I must spend in attending to business in those cities, or not. It looks doubtful now, yet if I can run away a few days when I reach Chicago, you will see me. Do not depend on it, and then you will not be disappointed.

When Mr. Hildreth was on the state board of education and a member of the Legislature he made his journeys to Des Moines by team, a distance of more than 200 miles.

Mr. Hildreth was four times married. He was at Lowell when he was first married, October 24, 1839. Miss Hannah D. L. Rier, of Newburyport, was the bride. She died of consumption at Newburyport, May 20, 1841. He took his second wife the next year, marrying Miss Olive Freeman Fuller, of Paris, Maine. He was then established in business at Bradford. His wife died January 26, 1844. On the 21st day of the following October he married Miss Liveria Aurette Knight, of Fryeburg, Maine. She was one year his junior and he first knew her as one of his pupils when he taught school, at the age of sixteen, at Piermont, New Hampshire. To this union one child was born, a daughter who was named Mary. The child lived to see the new home in Iowa, but died soon after attaining her sixth year. This was a very heavy blow to both Mr. and Mrs. Hildreth. The mother of the child died in



Charles City, December 8, 1890, in the seventy-fourth year of her age, after a married life of a little more than forty-six years. In 1891 Mr. Hildreth married Mrs. Julia A. Waterhouse, formerly of Boston, but at the time a resident of Charles City. This wife survives Mr. Hildreth, who died November 29, 1909, at the age of ninety-three years and nine months.

In a letter to his mother, dated March 16, 1865, Mr. Hildreth said:

You will see by the *Intelligencer* of this week what we are doing for education in this place. My advice and assistance in all our school matters is constantly sought by our leading men, and it is flattering to thus enjoy the confidence of the community. Nearly all the resolutions and business which was transacted at our school meetings were prepared by me, and the people were rallied by my friends to sustain them, which was done by an overwhelming majority. It is pleasant to live among such whole-souled and enterprising people as we have here. Oh, that I had children to be benefited by these educational labors of mine. Then I should feel that I was receiving some compensation in return. Now, it is all for the public good, and little or none for myself.

But the appreciation he received and the good he did were compensatory in a large sense; and to render himself worthy in this regard he abated nothing of his labor and generous co-operation.

In 1871, the year following his retirement from the *Intelligencer*, Mr. Hildreth took an active part in the organization of the First National Bank, serving as director and for a time as vice-president. In 1873, when the Floyd County Savings Bank was organized, he was chosen its president. He was the prime mover in the work of organizing the Floyd County Agricultural Society, dating back to 1859. From the beginning of his time in Charles City to the end of his active life he was a leader in all the public activities of the community in which he had cast his lot and which he distinguished by his life and works for nearly fifty-four years.

The Hildreth hotel and opera house was the most substantial material contribution of his later years to the business and social needs of Charles City. This property was completed

in 1893. It was there, on Lincoln day, February 12, 1906, at a meeting under the auspices of the Sons of Veterans, that the writer last met Mr. Hildreth, then within a few days of his ninetieth year. He was the guest of honor at the banquet.

Mr. Hildreth was of the type of which the best of pioneers in northern Iowa were made. He had physical and moral health. He was steadfast in adherence to principles, and he took his conscience for his best guide. He had many difficulties and many sore trials to contend with, but he kept his lamp burning, though at times it flickered dimly in "the encircling gloom." He had great will power, yet he was never stranger to tenderness and never superior to the ties of true friendship. He had great love of home; and the love he bore his child, made manifest at the time of separation, was pathetic. He left an impress on Charles City that will not disappear; and the influence of his good life in association with his good works will not be lost as the years come and go, to that portion of the State where he was best known, and to Iowa whose foundations he so well assisted in laying.

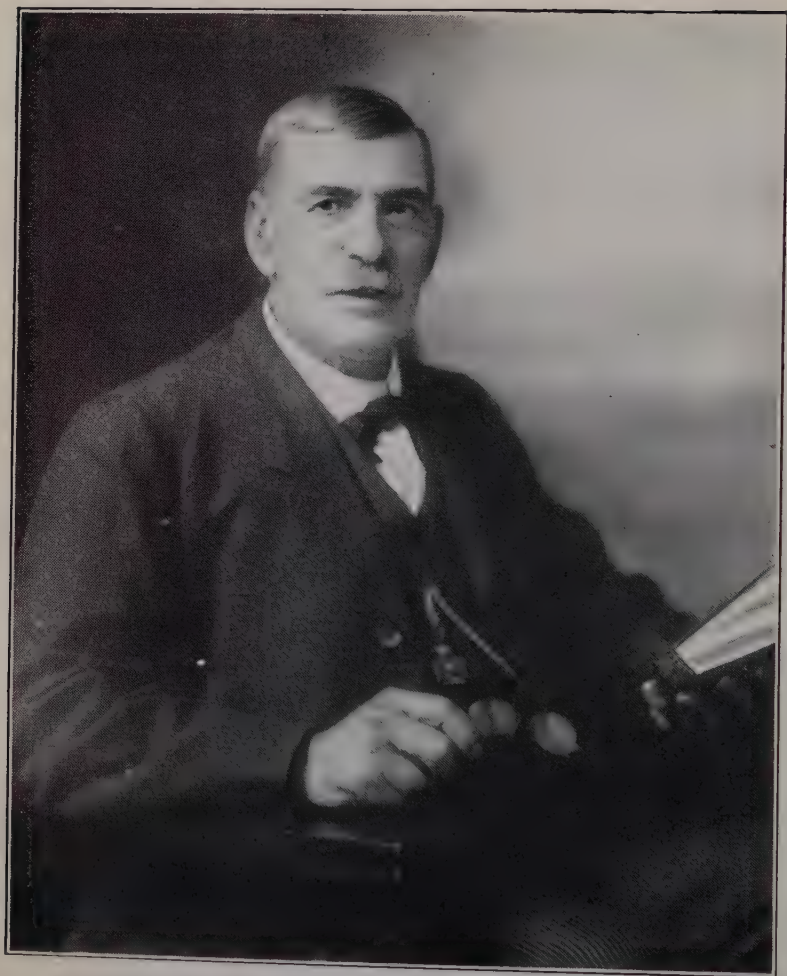
The story of every life is interesting, and the study of every good life is inspiring. Trouble and sorrow are common heritage, and victory alone is to them who make contest to the end, guarding well their integrity, bearing well their burdens, and holding fast, doing the work of the day, and keeping faith in a better tomorrow.

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*City Scrip*—We have been favored with a sight at our new City Scrip. It is a handsome engraving, and intrinsically is no doubt better for our local purposes than much of the stuff which has been circulating amongst us. We do not know what arrangements have been made with our bankers; but in the absence of a sounder currency, we recommend the use of the Scrip in ordinary business transactions.—*Tri-Weekly Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), Jan. 15, 1858.







CAPT. W. A. DUCKWORTH

## ESCAPE OF IOWA SOLDIERS FROM CONFEDERATE PRISON.

BY CAPT. W. A. DUCKWORTH.

In the fall of 1863, Gen. Banks, in whose Department was the Thirteenth and Nineteenth Corps, received orders from Washington to penetrate into Texas. General Ord, who commanded the Thirteenth Corps, directed General Herron to establish his division at Morganza to observe the crossings of the Atchafalaya River, and hold Confederate General Green in check. General Herron sent Colonel J. B. Leake, of the Twentieth Iowa, with the Nineteenth Iowa, the Twenty-sixth Indiana Infantry, and 250 cavalry to Stirling's farm, about nine miles from Morganza. The following account of this engagement is quoted from "History of the Civil War in America," by the Compté de Paris:

On the evening of the 28th of September Green secretly crossed the Atchafalaya River with three brigades of infantry and one of cavalry to surprise a portion of Colonel Leake's brigade. . . . Leake had posted himself, with two regiments of infantry (the Nineteenth Iowa and Twenty-sixth Indiana) numbering about six hundred men and two cannon, at two miles from Morganza. He had placed his two hundred and fifty cavalry, under Major Montgomery, more to the westward, near Atchafalaya. Green, sending Major Boone against the latter, with a regiment of cavalry, and Mouton's and Speight's two brigades of infantry, direct against Leake, had taken a circuitous route with the rest of his troops to attack the latter in the rear and place himself on his line of retreat. Boone, being the first to attack, separated the Union cavalrymen from Leake's troops, and pushing them in disorder in another direction, did not permit them to give Leake the alarm.

At the same time, Speight, followed by Mouton, marched rapidly and fell unexpectedly on the Federal infantry. The latter, surprised and hastily drawn up, defended itself energetically. But Boone's cavalry, arriving on its flank after their first success, threw its ranks into disorder, and, not even giving Mouton time to arrive, forced the swarm of fugitives on the ambushade set up by General Green. The latter picked up all that had escaped his lieutenants. There were more than one hundred men *hors de combat* but he



withdrew, taking with him two cannon and nearly five hundred prisoners.

J. Irvine Dungan, who was a member of the Nineteenth Iowa, and participated in the battle, was captured and sent to Tyler, Texas. He gives a brief notice of his escape in his "History of the Nineteenth Iowa Regiment." He states that Col. J. B. Leake protested about the insecurity of his position at the Norwood farm, and that General Vandever was sent out to investigate, and reported the position as being dangerous for Col. Leake's force. But General Herron, who was then in command of the division, would not consent to a new position. On the 28th of September things were looking so serious that Col. Leake on his own idea of the insecurity of the location at Norwood's farm, moved to the Stirling farm.

The infantry of the command made a gallant defense, and if the cavalry and mounted infantry had stood their ground, or had charged Mouton's brigade, which was then under the command of Col. Henry Grey, the result might have been different, as in that event most of Col. Leake's command might have escaped capture. Or, had information of General Green's advance in the morning been given to General Dana, then in command at Morganza, the Federal forces combined might have taken nearly all of General Green's forces prisoner, on account of his limited means of crossing the Atchafalaya River.

The men of the Nineteenth Iowa fought to the limit, and only surrendered singly or in squads, and some of them had to be disarmed by the Confederates before they would surrender.

The *Galveston News*, a Confederate paper, gives in its issue of the 20th of October, 1863, the following account of this battle:

According to the plans, Lieut. Col. Jas. E. Harrison, commanding Speight's Brigade, was to bring on the engagement with the enemy's position, four miles in the rear of their cavalry. Colonel Gray was to hold Colonel Mouton's Brigade two miles above in the direction of Morganza, to meet any reinforcement sent to the enemy from that direction. While one battalion was to follow Harrison in supporting distance, Harrison was conducted by a guide who gave but little idea of the country.





*Robert L. Orbes, Jr.*



Harrison attacked their rear about half past 11 o'clock, on the 29th of September. His position was almost as strong as though it had been made for the purpose. He was covered on every side by ditches, embankments, fences, and levees, with a large sugar mill on his rear in addition to a large ditch and fence, inside of all this there was large negro quarters in regular streets. His force consisted of two regiments and a battalion, in force much stronger than Speight's Brigade, the latter in advancing on him had to pass through a canefield covered with vines, which while it afforded no shelter, embarrassed our troops very much. This advance was made under a galling fire from his entire force covered. He was driven from the sugar mill and first ditches to the first row of negro houses where he contested every inch of ground. Harrison made him change front by flanking him, forcing him from street to street till he was forced over the levee when he changed his front, face by the rear; here he fought desperately, using two pieces of artillery with great effect.

Harrison ordered one of the pieces to be taken, which was captured and retained during the action. The enemy now attempted to flank him, by a movement on his left by marching rapidly behind a high levee. The attempt was discovered through a gap or break in the levee. Our men were now inside, the enemy outside. . . .

While he was attempting this, Harrison flanked him with his right and with a division held his flanking column back when his left gave way, retreating across an old field covered with high weeds. At this moment, Major Boone commanding Weller's Battalion of cavalry came up with a gallant charge on his right flank, and completed the rout. The supporting force never reached Harrison, and the officers and men fought gallantly; men could not have done better. . . .

We lost twenty-seven killed and eighty wounded; and captured of the enemy four hundred and thirty-two privates and non-commissioned officers, and twenty-nine commissioned officers.

General Dana sent out a detachment under the command of Capt. Jourdan, under a flag of truce, and buried the dead of both parties.

Robert Forbes of Company I, Nineteenth Iowa, now residing at Keosauqua, Iowa, made his escape during the confusion of the surrender of the detachment. He hurriedly left the scene of the encounter, and keeping in the high weeds and cane, safely eluded the enemy. While making his way in the direction of Morganza, he encountered a man on horseback,

dressed in Confederate gray, whom he made prisoner, and walked him into Morganza. The man whom he captured proved to be Lieut. Col. Guest, either of the Fourth or Fifth Texas Mounted Infantry, then serving as dismounted. Forbes turned his prisoner over to the commander of the post at Morganza, together with his horse, which was a fine one, and his trappings, including a silver mounted Colts revolver. Forbes asked to keep the revolver as a trophy, but the officer in command would not permit it.

In this engagement the Union forces lost as follows: killed, 2 officers, 14 enlisted men; wounded, 5 officers, 40 enlisted men; captured or missing, 21 officers, 433 enlisted men, making a total of 515 men.<sup>1</sup>

The prisoners were taken across the Atchafalaya River and left standing in line all night in the rain and mud, without food and without even a chance to sit down or take any rest. As they had been hurried away after capture, they had had no opportunity to secure either clothing or food.

When morning came the Confederates issued to the prisoners flour for their only ration. The only method of preparing it was to mix it in muddy water, roll the mixture on the end of sticks and bake it by the fire. Some of the men might have made their escape, but the Confederate officers promised from the first to parole them.

The next morning the prisoners were started for Alexandria, La., eighty miles away. On this march nothing unusual occurred other than hard tramping, with little to eat and no sleeping accommodations except the bare ground. On arriving within twenty-five miles of Alexandria they were hauled to that place on a cotton tramway, aboard small flat cars. This was slow going but better than walking. Arriving at Alexandria they were quartered in the court-house, and had a ration of corn bread and cooked beef issued to them.

The Confederates repeated their promise to parole the prisoners, but next morning they were started on foot for Shreveport, La., one hundred and eighty miles distant, under escort of a detachment of cavalry. The first town through which

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<sup>1</sup>Rebellion Records, ser. 1, vol. 26, pt. 1, page 325.

they passed after leaving Alexandria was Mansfield, where a Major of the Mexican War, a man with a wooden leg, and who appeared to be an independent and leading citizen, brought to the prisoners a wagon load of cooked sweet potatoes, and another wagon load of cooked meat, all of which came in mighty good play.

The party rested at this place two days and were visited by a large number of women and children, who were anxious to see the Yankees. One little girl said to her mother, "Why, mamma, I don't see any horns on the men." A very aristocratic elderly lady tried to argue the questions of the war with the prisoners, but with poor results. The boys were in a situation in which they cared more for their immediate comforts than for the questions of the equity of the war. Really, the only argument they had to present was with a musket, not against the women, of course, but the army which represented their side of the case.

The next town was Mackintosh, where the following incident took place. A man brought a cart load of provisions to the prisoners' camp to sell. The boys crowded around the cart, which had a dump bed, and some one slipped out the toggle-pin, whereupon the load was dumped on the ground. This frightened the mule attached to the cart and caused it to run away, and before it could be caught and brought back the provisions were "*non est.*"

Shreveport was the next town at which a stop was made, after leaving Mackintosh. The party of prisoners arrived there on Saturday, Oct. 17, 1863, after nearly a two weeks' tramp. Nothing happened on the march beyond the usual hardships incident to men in this situation. The fare was corn bread and sweet potatoes, with a little meat. The sleeping accommodations were the bare ground, without blankets or covering of any kind. Arriving at Shreveport, the prisoners were marched through the streets; a performance very humiliating to them as they were nearly naked and very dirty, having had no opportunity to change their clothing or take a bath since the day of their capture.



The boys had behaved badly here, some of them having used vile language while marching through the streets. They were called into line by a Confederate major, an ex-steamboat mate and captain, who had assumed command of the prisoners and escort. He threatened them with death and other dire punishments, unless they conducted themselves in a little more decent manner. The major announced that the prisoners were to be taken to Tyler, Texas, and that there they would have good quarters, good treatment, and would shortly be paroled.

About November 1, 1863, the party reached Tyler, Texas. Tyler is situated some one hundred and twenty-five miles from Shreveport, a little southwest and about two hundred miles north of Galveston. The prisoners' camp was located in the piece of timber near the town, where was a spring forming a branch which ran through the grounds. The officer in command of the camp, a Colonel Allen of the Confederate army, had been a preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church South. He was really a very good man, and as long as the prisoners were reasonable in their conduct and demands, they had no trouble.<sup>1</sup>

Permission was given the men by the Colonel to go outside of the camp to cut fire-wood and secure something extra to eat. On these expeditions they were placed on their honor. Axes were furnished them and they were allowed to build suitable houses in which they could pass the winter in reasonable comfort, although the winter of 1863 and '64 was extremely cold, even in Texas. The prisoners, however, were not retained here all winter.

The food here was corn meal and beef, cooked by means of old-fashioned skillets and ovens, borrowed from the guards, as had been done all the way from the place of capture.

The boys found 400 U. S. Marines at Tyler who had been there thirteen months. They had been captured at Sabine Pass in the naval encounter with the Confederates. The boys fraternized with the Marines and the two parties got along nicely together.

<sup>1</sup>Colonel Allen was assassinated soon after the war. He was killed from ambush by a rifle. The authorities never ascertained by whom or for what cause.

An imaginary line, called the dead line, had been established about five feet inside the outer line of the camp. In bringing their fire-wood to camp, the prisoners stopped at a safe distance and pitched it across the dead line. Orders were strict that no prisoner should approach the dead line. A man reported for guard duty shortly after the arrival of the Nineteenth Iowa, who made threats that he never would be satisfied until he had killed a Yankee. Of course this was not a soldier from the firing line, but a home guard. Well, soon after he took his place as one of the guards, while some of the boys were pitching wood over the line of the camp, he fired his musket, the ball from which killed one prisoner and passed through the arm of another. Both these men were receiving the wood and were on the inside of the camp.

A rush was made by a lot of the prisoners for the man who had performed this dastardly act, and he would have been torn limb from limb had not their own officers interceded for milder measures. The Methodist Colonel in command called a court of inquiry and after hearing the testimony from both guards and prisoners, turned the man over to the civil authorities of the State of Texas. What was finally done with him the prisoners never learned.

In the main the prisoners were fairly well treated here. This was largely owing to the Methodist Colonel in command of the camp, who was a kindly man and seemed to have a happy faculty of getting along with everybody. They were often out on their honor and were sometimes late in getting back to camp; but most of the tardy cases were condoned by the officer on duty.

The shanties or cabins built by the prisoners were made of pine saplings and roofed with pine boughs. Such roofs kept out the wind and cold, but would not keep out the rain, of which there was an unusual amount that season for that latitude. Fire-places were built in the cabins, small logs being used for this purpose, and they were plastered inside with mud to make them fire-proof. Stick chimneys were built, coated with mud on the inside in the same way. Their Confederate hosts furnished them with boards out of which were

constructed sleeping bunks. While building the cabins the prisoners were allowed great liberty, going and coming without guards.

After completing their shanties the prisoners were employed in building a stockade around the camp. This was made of logs set upright, four or five feet in the ground, the larger logs being split. The height of the stockade was about twelve feet and a narrow platform about eight feet from the ground ran all around the inside, for the use of the guard while on duty.

A number of the prisoners made their escape from the camp at Tyler only to be recaptured, some of them within less than fifty miles of the Mississippi River, but the most of them after having gone only a short distance from Tyler. Bloodhounds, a meagre population and scarcity of food, combined to defeat the efforts of the men who tried to make their escape.

Near the end of December the prisoners taken at the battle of Stirling's farm, consisting of the Nineteenth Iowa, Twenty-sixth Indiana and the Artillerymen, were paroled in order to save guarding, and sent under escort of a squad of cavalry to Shreveport. There their paroles were withdrawn and the prisoners confined in a camp four miles below Shreveport, and about one mile back from the Red River. Here, as at Tyler, the prisoners were permitted to build cabins for shelter, boards being furnished by the Confederates for roofs and bunks. The officer in command of this camp was Colonel Theard. He was ordered to the east of the Mississippi, and in conversation with some of the prisoners said he was dissatisfied with the way the war was being conducted, and that he would desert the army when he reached a point convenient for the purpose, and go to his home in New Orleans.

After the successful escape of the seven prisoners to whom he had thus expressed himself, they met Colonel Theard at his office in New Orleans, when on their way to rejoin their regiment.

The paroles of the prisoners having been withdrawn, as stated above, two separate parties determined to effect their



escape and immediately began preparations by storing up what food and clothing they could procure. It happened that two Confederate couriers, who visited the camp bearing dispatches, hitched their horses near the camp while they delivered their dispatches to the Colonel at his headquarters. A double roll of home-made blankets was fastened on the back of each courier's saddle. Two of the prisoners who were preparing to escape, succeeded in evading the camp guards, cut away the blankets and got back undetected inside the guard lines. The blankets were secreted and the seven prisoners used them during their subsequent journeyings while making their escape; these were the only covering they had.

The parties sold the brass buttons off their clothing, taking pay in Confederate money. The South was literally without buttons for their ordinary wearing apparel, while the uniform clothing was very frequently found equipped with buttons acquired from Union soldiers. They bought all the fresh beef they could procure, which they dried (jerked). This they stored away with what corn bread they had been able to obtain, ready for the break for liberty.

There was a depression in the ground, a shallow ravine just inside of the lines. It had been planned, on pretext of imparting some news to one of the guards, to attract his attention, and hold him with his back to the ravine, until the other guard had reached the ravine and turned, so as to get them back to back. Fires were also built near the guard line on each side of this ravine. It was expected that the reflection from these fires would have a tendency to blind the guards. The break for liberty was made on the night of February 25, 1864. In walking their beats, the guards met at the ravine above alluded to, where they turned and walked back to the next post. At six o'clock in the evening the guards were doubled. It was therefore necessary for the prisoners who had made preparations to escape, to make the attempt between dark and six o'clock. The interval was only about fifteen minutes, at that season of the year. Some of the men who remained at the camp and were in the secret, were to keep

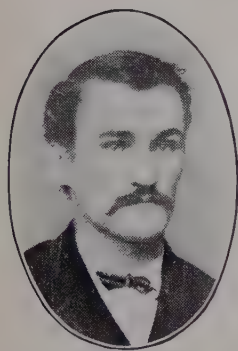
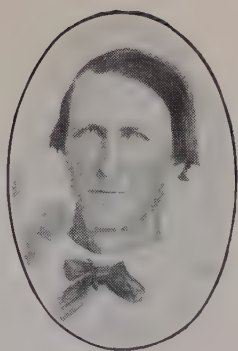
watch, and cough as a signal the minute the conditions were favorable.

The favorable moment came, the signal was given and the party of seven marched in single file safely out of the prison camp.

Six of the men were members of Company II, Nineteenth Iowa, viz.: Sergeant W. W. Byers, afterwards a lieutenant, still residing at Chautauqua, Kansas; Corporal J. F. Daugherty, still residing at Keosauqua, Iowa; Privates: E. P. Taylor, living now at Greenfield, Mo., J. T. Paxton, residing at Milton, Iowa; Jonathan Nixon, who died at Keosauqua, Iowa; and Simon Bodkin, now living at Wellington, Kansas. The seventh man was Sergeant J. S. Ragsdale, now living at Birmingham, Iowa, who was afterwards promoted to First Lieutenant of Company I, Nineteenth Iowa.

The timber was very thick near the guard line and there was considerable underbrush. It had been agreed that the men, leaving the camp one by one, should meet at a certain deformed tree some distance from camp. This they did and traveled down the river, crossing a creek on the line of march, which was so deep with quick sand that part of the company barely escaped drowning.

The night before, Ragsdale and Byers, while waiting at the corner of the camp where the path led to the spring, for their turn to get water, fell into conversation with one of the guards named Sledge. This man announced himself to Ragsdale and Byers as a Union man at heart and urged them to make their escape. Becoming convinced that he was really what he pretended to be, a friend, the two men confided to him the secret of their intention to attempt an escape the next night, whereupon Sledge promised to help them. He directed them to go down the river about six miles until they should find themselves opposite a certain house, on the plantation of a Confederate major, where his brother-in-law, a Mr. Green, resided. Green was a Northern man, Sledge explained, and devoted to the Union cause. He was, however, the most successful farm superintendent and "nigger" driver in that part of the country, and because of his value



	E. P. TAYLOR	JONATHAN NIXON	
J. F. PAXTON		J. S. RAGSDALE	W. W. BYERS
SIMON BODKIN		J. F. DAUGHERTY	





in these respects, and through political and personal influence, he had been allowed to remain South and keep out of the Confederate army. It was Sledge's intention to go to his brother-in-law's house next morning as soon as he should be relieved from guard, and he promised to arrange with Green to help them get away.

After wading the creek already mentioned, and a swamp which was neck deep, the escaping party hid in some woods and tree tops opposite Green's house for the remainder of the night. When daylight came, they saw a negro on the opposite bank of the stream, to whom they signalled their wish to cross. The negro came over in a boat. It had no sooner struck the landing than all seven of the men rushed down the bank and boarded it, considerably alarming their black ferryman. He suspected who they were, however, and rowed them across, cautioning them against danger of Sledge's betraying them and admonishing them to be careful, as it was pretty dangerous around there.

Having safely crossed the stream the men hid in the woods, covering themselves securely with brush-wood, and there they remained all day. They could hear the bloodhounds baying on the other side of the river, and knew by the sound that they were being hunted by the Confederates.

When night came, two of the party made their way to the vicinity of Green's house and inquired of the negroes if their master was at home. The negroes found him and when he came out he told the men that Mr. Sledge had been there the morning before, and that everything was all right. He then sent a negro with two men to a point above the house for his skiff, telling them to row it down past the cotton-gin, about a mile below to a plantation, where they would find a yawl large enough to carry their entire party. Accordingly two of the men got into the skiff and following the instructions given by Green, succeeded after some searching (it was then after dark), in discovering the yawl. It lay in a bayou, or creek, on the north side of Red River. Meantime Green, after supplying them with bread and meat, piloted the five men down to the bayou, where they joined their companions. Green's

skiff was fastened to the bank, and the seven men boarded the yawl and proceeded down the river until daylight.

For three nights they continued their journey, floating down the stream, hiding in the timber back of the plantations in the upland during the day and concealing their boat by sinking it in some safe place.

One or two incidents in their night journeyings were somewhat exciting. Coming around a bend in the river, on one occasion, they found themselves looking full into a Confederate camp. Just beyond a town was plainly to be seen. There was no going back, of course. The banks, luckily, were high and steep, and they thrust the boat close to the shore and floated past the danger points unmolested and unseen.

The river was full of snags and drifts, and the nights being very dark, considerable trouble was experienced in steering clear of them. Rounding one of the many bends in the river, the man in the bow of the yawl, who was the lookout, seeing that they were about to strike a drift, cried out, "right" when he should have said "left." In consequence of the false directing, the boat ran against the drift sideways, partly overturning it. In their efforts to save the provisions, the men got a thorough wetting, but the boat was finally righted and they floated on. It was an old and leaky affair, and after running on the drift, leaked of course worse than ever.

On the fourth evening, having passed the hours of daylight in hiding, as usual, and coming to the place at which the boat had been sunk for concealment, no boat was found. This caused the party great alarm, for it seemed a pretty sure prelude to their capture. Careful search was made at once for the missing craft, and to their decided satisfaction it was found hidden in a clump of willows and bailed out ready for use. Some vagrant negro doubtless had found the boat by accident, raised it and concealed it with intent to take it away at his convenience. The men were not long in getting under way and were greatly relieved when out of gun shot of the locality.



After floating a part of this night, it was decided by a vote to abandon the boat and strike across the country. Navigation had grown more hazardous for various reasons, but chiefly on account of the increasing frequency of Confederate craft on the river. Accordingly the boat was abandoned and the land journey resumed. As before, the men traveled by night, being guided in clear weather by the north star and in cloudy weather by the bark on the trees.

As a means of defense each had provided himself with a cane, in the shape of a hardwood club, with a ball on the larger end whittled out with their pocket knives. These clubs were hardwood sprouts with the root attached, the roots grubbed out of the ground. For covering when lying down, there were the three blankets which it will be remembered had been "borrowed" from the saddles of the horses of the Confederate couriers before leaving the prison camp. The clothing of the escaping men, including their shoes, was badly worn. They could not have a fire, and in consequence suffered greatly from the rain and cold.

Most of the streams were crossed with the aid of rafts, which were made by binding together fence rails and pieces of drift wood by means of vines. The food and clothing were put aboard the rafts, the men, those of them who could, swimming behind and pushing it across, the others holding on. The ferrying was a matter of considerable time as at least three extra trips had to be made.

For several nights the journey was pursued without incident or adventure. But one night while traveling the main road, they were startled by the barking of a dog, which was immediately answered by a number of others, and presently the unwelcome discovery was made that they were on the edge of a town on the Red River. Lights were displayed in several windows. Retreating at once to a safe distance, they made a circuit of the place, through the woods and fields, coming upon a sheet of water, which proved to be Lake Bistineau, which they skirted until they again struck the main wagon road on the river east of the town. While thus skirting this lake the travelers came to a Spanish settlement. The

men of the place were all absent, either in hiding or in the Confederate army. The women could not speak English, but from the appearance of the travelers they had no difficulty in reaching the conclusion that they were in want of something to eat. Accordingly they gathered some corn from the shocks in a nearby field, husked it and shelled it, and ground it in a stone mortar with a stone pestle, Mexican fashion. From the meal they made bread and gave to the men. Expressing their grateful appreciation as well as they could, the men journeyed on.

A large camp was passed, consisting of a Confederate wagon train with supplies for the army. Giving the camp a wide berth, they came to a point where the lake had its outlet into the Red River. This proved to be wide and deep, just how wide they were unable in the darkness to determine, as the growth of trees was dense on both banks and hung over the water. Fortunately they found a good-sized ferry-boat, of unusual length, and built after the plan of a barge, with long poles for propelling it. Boarding this boat they proceeded to use the poles vigorously until they thought they were under sufficient speed to be carried to the other shore, when the poles were dropped and they waited for their craft to make the bank. It was some time before the boat struck and the men had become alarmed, when finally one corner struck the opposite shore near the outlet to the main river. The men in front sprang ashore, the boat rebounded and those farther back had to leap into the water. It was with the greatest difficulty that they reached the shore and saved their provisions. The ferry-boat floated out into the main river and was soon lost to view. Its loss was no doubt a serious inconvenience to the Confederates in their communication with the army. The party continued to journey by night and pressed forward with the utmost speed their strength would allow, fearing to be captured and held for the loss of the ferry-boat, which no doubt would have been the severest penalty.

The distance between here and the Washta River was made without incident of note, except the meeting of rebel cavalry

squads occasionally. They were enabled to avoid them by means of one of their number walking a distance ahead, and giving a signal of alarm by striking two canes together. When the alarm was given all would leave the roadside quietly and lie down until the enemy had passed. The pine forests through which they were now passing were thinly settled and but little food could be obtained. On reaching the Washta just after dark, in a thick fog, voices were heard on the other side. Hallooing lustily, they were answered by a negro, to whom they cried out "Over!" This request was complied with by the negro coming over in a flat, capable of carrying four persons, thus requiring two trips. The negro charged fifty cents each for his services. He was paid in part, the travelers promising to pay the balance on their return next day. They represented themselves to be Confederates, belonging to Jones' brigade, which the negro had informed them on the way over was in camp a little way down the river. The fog and darkness prevented the negro from seeing how little or much they looked like Confederates. Owing to the proximity of "Jones' brigade" the party made as great a distance as was possible in their weakened condition, darkness, fog and the uneven swampy ground over which they had to pass. After they had traveled as far as they could for weariness—three or four miles—they threw themselves upon the cold ground to rest and sleep as best they could until daylight, for it was exceedingly hard to make headway in the darkness of the night.

The journey was resumed next morning due east. The day being still foggy and overcast with dark clouds, their course could only be determined by the moss on the trees. The Bayou Boeuf was soon reached and a very large stream, too, for a bayou. There were no signs of civilization here whatever, and the question of crossing the stream weighed heavily on the minds of the party. They, however, naturally started up stream, the source of which was apparently northeast, thus enabling them to increase the distance between them and the camp of Jones' brigade, which was very much to be desired. The men were so engrossed in the matter of



finding a crossing or something to cross on that they did not observe a gradual but continuous bend in the bayou to the northwest, thus causing them to curve in their line of travel. After pursuing this course for perhaps two miles they heard the tinkle of a cow bell away to their left. This was a welcome sound, for they were almost famishing from hunger. Hoping to find some trace of human life and habitation, they left the river at right angles, in the direction of the sound of the bell. After winding their way through a swampy forest wilderness of dense growth, they emerged into a small opening where the sun could penetrate and grass could grow. Here they found the bell and the cow that tinkled it. This was encouraging, for they thought something to eat could not be very far away. Casting about a little further the party discovered the exact spot where they had lain the night before. This was a little too much, as they had not realized they had made such a circuit. A council of war was held at once. There was not even a path or anything to show that the cow belonged in the direction the party wished to proceed. Every feature of the country on their course was wilderness and desolation. To go far into this wilderness without food would mean their inability to get back. Suggestions to go to Jones' camp and give themselves up were made and considered, and other features and conditions were gone over, and discussed. But the thought of home and loved ones was all prevailing, and a resolve to make one more effort, "sink or swim, live or die," for home and native land prevailed, and the party started again for the Bayou Boeuf.

Searching about for a means of getting over, they discovered what appeared to be a section of a fallen tree. On closer inspection the tree trunk turned out to be an alligator, of the largest size. The creature crawled into the water, but as it took up a position close to the shore and refused to be driven away by vigorous and repeating clubbing, it was decided not to attempt to cross the stream at that point. They therefore followed the river or bayou up for about two miles to an abrupt bend, where they came upon a well-worn path, leading directly back from the river to another bend at right angles

with the first. From this point they had a view of quite a nice plantation on the other side. Raising their voices in loud halloos, a negro finally responded, coming down to the river bank. He came over on a raft and ferried the party across. The overseer and all other white persons were absent from the plantation, and the negroes furnished the travelers with a good supply of provisions. The night of that day they slept in a swamp, after tramping and wading in swamps and bayous all day. The following morning a small stream was reached, which was greatly swollen from the recent rains. While constructing a raft from a pile of lumber on the bank, a troop of Confederate cavalry was seen passing on the road near by. Fortunately the troopers failed to discover them, or if they did, concluded they were natives. At any rate they paid no heed to them. Finishing the raft, the party crossed the stream and journeyed in an easterly direction.

In the course of this day's journey, they came to a nice looking plantation. The peach trees were in full bloom, making a pretty sight. Approaching the house, the men represented themselves as Confederates; but the inmates there found, a man and his two sisters, saw through the pretension, and insisted that they were Northern men. As the folks appeared friendly, the travelers finally confessed the truth about themselves, admitting they were Federal soldiers, escaping from imprisonment. Therefore they were invited in, the people offering to keep them in hiding for the present, and to furnish a guide as far as the Mississippi River, when they should be ready to go on. The Mississippi, they said, was about twenty-five miles distant.

The men declined the invitation and offer, but accepted with gratitude a generous supply of provisions. Proceeding on their way, they had hardly left the plantation behind, when a mounted conscript passed near them. As his path led through thick timber, the Confederate was kept so busy dodging the low hanging branches that he had no eyes for anything else, and consequently the men escaped being seen.

The food obtained had greatly strengthened all the members of the party, and their progress was now rapid. Having

had such a narrow escape from discovery by the conscript soldier, they were naturally inspired by the incident to increase the distance between themselves and that locality with all possible speed. At dark, another small stream was reached, turbulent and much swollen. It was decided not to attempt a crossing that night, so they camped near its bank. The next morning it was found that the water had subsided and they crossed with little difficulty.

The following night the men slept on the cold, wet ground as usual. Morning coming, the march was taken up and after traveling about two miles through heavy forest, with thick underbrush and briars, they reached the Macon River. Like the other streams which had been met in their journeyings, the Macon was much swollen from the spring rains. There was a large plantation just above the point at which they had struck the river. The place not being favorable for effecting a crossing, the party went back some distance, skirting the plantation, with the intention of striking the river above. When the circuit was about half made, however, the baying of bloodhounds was heard, and the creatures could be perceived, apparently on their trial. Appearances were in accordance with the facts, for when the hounds reached the river where the men had paused, they could be seen hunting around for the trail. Picking it by the aid of their keen scent, they started back on the tracks of the fleeing men.

Without hesitation the party struck across a field for the river, and hurriedly put together a raft of rails procured from the fence near the river, binding the rails with vines which fortunately grew near by. The frail raft was immediately launched and while the three men who were not swimmers, supported themselves in the water by holding to the raft, the men who could swim pushed the raft across the stream, though Ragsdale, being a good swimmer, struck out boldly alone for the opposite shore, with what provisions he could carry along on his back. In midstream he was seized with cramps, and came near drowning, but he struggled on and made the bank safely. The main party with the raft



also crossed in safety. As they climbed up the river bank, they looked back and saw the pursuing bloodhounds standing at the water's edge opposite. They now felt themselves comparatively safe, knowing that bloodhounds can not keep the scent through running water. Their conviction was strong that they were being followed. Naturally, the suspicion was in their minds that the friendly man and his two sisters, who had been so solicitous to entertain them, might be responsible for their pursuit. But whether they were or not or whether they really had been seen by the trooper in the woods, it was of course impossible to decide.

Continuing the journey, after proceeding some two miles, they came upon an abandoned cavalry camp, with the camp-fire still smouldering, and an amount of corn and cornbread scattered around. Gathering up a quantity of the bread, the men went on. The journey now lay through cypress swamps with their slimy logs to cross, cane-breaks, brushwood, and grape vines. Traveling in such a country was not exactly a pleasure jaunt, but all haste possible was made and at length the Tensas River was reached. This inlet stream to the Macon the men were anxious to place between themselves and the bloodhounds.

A large drift of logs lay near the place at which they had struck the stream, and from this it was determined to construct a raft. On walking out on the drift, however, the discovery was made that many of the supposed logs were alligators. The men tried with clubs to drive the saurians from the locality, but without success. While the raft was being put together in the edge of the river, they formed a circle around the place, watching the men as they worked. It was necessary to make no less than six trips across the stream, as the raft was only strong enough to bear the weight of two men at a time, and at each journey the alligators followed the raft, keeping close watch, apparently expecting some one to fall overboard.

Mr. E. P. Taylor, now of Greenfield, Missouri, one of the squad of escaping prisoners, has written an account of the

adventures of himself and comrades in which many incidents of an instructive kind are narrated, from which we quote the following:

Taylor and Byers, leaving their comrades in hiding, applied at the door of a house and asked for food. The elderly woman who answered their knock, said she would bake them some bread. They waited. Her first move was to go out and get some corn, which she brought in and husked. The men supposed that she was going to feed a horse which stood near at hand. But she began shelling the corn off the cob. Seeing no sign of any bread being made, the men asked the woman how soon she would get at her bread-making. She replied, as soon as she got the corn shelled and ground. They concluded they would not wait. As they were leaving they saw a hand corn-grinder and concluded that the woman would really have baked them some bread if they could have waited for the long preliminary process. This incident may indicate the primitive way in which many of the natives of that section of the southwest lived.

At another time, night having fallen, they stopped at a house where supper was served for them. There was no table in the house, but outside the door was a contrivance that answered the purpose, made in the following way: four forked sticks had been driven into the ground, slender poles laid in the forks, and on these split boards or "shakes" were laid. Now for the table service,—it consisted of two broken plates, one knife with a broken blade, and one with a broken handle, one two-tined fork with a broken tine, and to match the knife another fork with a broken handle. Rye coffee was served in two utensils, one a gourd cup, cracked, and the other a tin cup minus a handle. The coffee-pot had no spout. The only sound and whole article was the skillet. In this they cooked first the bread and then the meat. The meat was dried beef and it was very good. They bought some of it to take with them and also a good-sized cake of corn bread. In spite of the rudeness of the arrangement, the kindness of the people was genuine.

The escaped prisoners were now within fifteen miles of the Mississippi, and realizing that the nearer they approached their own line, the greater was the danger of recapture, they pushed on with fear and trembling. When Bruins Lake was reached, which is about fifty miles below Vicksburg, the men, supposing it to be the Mississippi, on approaching the bank, in their enthusiasm very indiscreetly gave three cheers for the Father of Waters. There was a small group of houses near,

and the occupants, hearing the cheering, came out to see what was the matter. An old gentleman approached the men and from him they learned that the body of water before them was not the main river but Lake Bruin; that the main river was five miles distant, and that to reach it they would have to go down and around the lake for the distance of ten miles. Guided by this information and feeling the situation to be critical, the party at once proceeded on its way with all haste.

As they finally approached the Mississippi, they came to a large plantation, and were informed by some negroes on the place that a Yankee gunboat was lying up the river guarding a lot of cotton. The smoke of the gunboat could be perceived. Turning their steps now up the river, the gunboat was reached just at twilight. As the party approached, it was challenged by the sentinel on duty. To his, "Who goes there?" the response was made, "Friend without the countersign"; whereupon one man of the party was ordered to advance and communicate.

The officer of the guard was called, and was satisfied of the identity of the travelers. The captain of the gunboat, with the paymaster, just then coming up, having been out for a walk, made inquiry as to the situation and very kindly sent the men aboard the boat. There they had an opportunity to take a good bath, and each man was supplied with a full suit of clothing. Then they sat down to supper, which included coffee, a beverage of which they had not partaken for six months.

Blankets were furnished them and they lay down for a night's rest. It seemed so much like a dream, however, the comfort and the freedom from peril, that little sleep visited their eyes.

Arising next morning, however, and having breakfast, the full realization came to them that they were indeed free.

The following day a boat was seen coming up the river, and the Captain of the *Switzerland*, which was the name of the gunboat which the escaping men had boarded, hailed her and transferred the escaped prisoners to her. They were landed at Vicksburg late the next evening. Next morning

they reported to General J. B. McPherson, who treated them kindly, inquiring very particularly into their adventurous trip in making their escape, and as to their present wants. He offered them transportation either to their homes or to their regiment. They chose the latter and within a few days proceeded to rejoin their regiment by way of New Orleans and Gulf steamer, to Brownsville, Texas, at which point they arrived without accident.

The arrival of the escaping men at the bank of the Mississippi was on the 13th day of March, 1864. They had been eighteen days on the perilous journey from the prison camp at Shreveport; a time fraught with constant danger and in which they had endured great suffering. The history of such a trip should live in the annals of our country.

The gunboat *Switzerland*, on which the escaping men had found refuge was what was known as a "tin clad," a merchandise boat, reinforced with heavy planking as a protection from musket shots in the hands of the guerrillas, who infested the banks of the southern rivers during the last two years of the Civil War.

On the same evening that the seven, whose adventures have been related, escaped from Shreveport, viz.: February 23, 1864, Sergeant B. H. Rodrick and N. E. Dawson with Corporals P. H. Grant and John Terrill also made their escape. They left Red River at the start and met with nothing beyond the usual danger and vicissitudes incident to such an undertaking.

Omer Hoskins, L. B. Cocklin, L. S. Hall, J. M. Towne, Enos Rushton, Benedict Rumer, and B. F. Goodwin also escaped at different periods of the captivity of the regiment, and came into Federal lines at various times and places.

J. Irvine Dungan, Horatio W. Anderson and Wm. McGregor were less fortunate. They made their escape from Tyler, Texas, and aimed to come into our lines at Ft. Smith; but were recaptured when near that point.

They broke jail, however, in company with Anthony C. Johnson and Wm. Greer, both citizens of Arkansas, who were



confined in the jail with them. They were captured again, unfortunately, near Little Rock, which was then occupied by the Federal troops, and from thence taken back to Tyler.

While confined in the prison camp at Shreveport, H. W. Anderson made his third escape, the last of February; and although the country was covered with water from the spring rains, reached Natchez, Miss., in safety, and rejoined his regiment.

The prisoners who remained at the prison camp below Shreveport, from whence our seven escaped, were finally returned to Tyler, and in the first week of July, 1864, the main body of the Tyler prisoners were ordered exchanged. They marched bare-headed, bare-footed and nearly naked, under the July sun, to Shreveport, where, taking boats, they steamed down the Red River. On the 22d of July, 1864, they floated out on the broad Mississippi and beheld the Stars and Stripes, feeling such a thrill of joy as only returning prisoners can feel.

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## TRIAL OF JOHN BROWN.<sup>1</sup>

HON. GEORGE E. CASKIE.

The trial of John Brown did not establish any great legal principles, nor is it pre-eminent as a great legal battle, but the conditions out of which it grew were as momentous as those connected with any of the great contests which had preceded or which have followed it, and place it well up in the list of important trials.

In order to appreciate the position of the prisoner and the environment under which the trial was held, it will be well to review for a moment a few leading facts as to Brown himself.

John Brown's ancestors were among the Puritans who landed at Plymouth; in his veins mingled the blood of three sturdy races, the Scotch, the Dutch and the Welsh. For at least three generations the Brown family had been abolitionists, and John Brown, reared amongst such environments and

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<sup>1</sup>Paper read before Virginia State Bar Association, August, 1909.

possessed of an intense nature, became an *intense* abolitionist. He himself attributed much of his zeal to the ill treatment of a young negro slave which had come under his observation when he was very young, and which, he said, caused him to dedicate his life to the abolition of slavery. Right well did he keep his vow.

The first idea he seems to have had on the subject, as shown by a letter to his brother Frederick, written in 1834, was to educate the slaves, being of the opinion that if he could accomplish this the slave-owners would be forced to begin the work of emancipation without delay. It was about this time that, gathering his older sons in his humble home, he and they engaged in earnest prayer for the cause of abolition, and whilst on their knees, with hands and voices raised to Heaven, each solemnly pledged himself to devote his life to an effort to abolish slavery.

In the year 1840 he was engaged as a surveyor in the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry, and thus acquired some information as to the country, and perhaps heard the remark which had been attributed to George Washington, to the effect that the mountains around Harper's Ferry would serve as a stronghold for the Continental Army in the event it were repulsed by the English. Subsequently Brown expressed the opinion that these same mountains were designed by the Almighty as a refuge for the fugitive slaves.

In 1846, Garrett Smith, a large landowner of New York, donated 10,000 acres of wild land in northern New York to such colored families as would settle upon, clear and cultivate it. Brown approved that plan, and in order to aid it, obtained himself a small part of this land upon which he moved with his family, and which he ever afterwards regarded as his home.

Shortly after locating in New York, Brown seems to have become very hostile to all slave-owners, and we find him in Springfield in 1847 denouncing slavery in look and language fierce and bitter, and declaring that slave-holders had forfeited their right to live, and that the slaves had the right to

resort to any means to rid themselves of their masters and gain their liberty.

In 1854 the Kansas excitement was at its height; five of Brown's sons moved to Kansas, attracted by the double inducement of finding desirable homes and of lending their aid to the effort to make Kansas a free State. In October, 1855, John Brown himself went to Kansas and played no small part in the stirring scenes which occurred in that State during the terrible struggle through which it had to pass.

During all this time Brown's views had evidently been undergoing a change, for while his zeal never abated in the least, and his determination never wavered, his idea as to the best method by which to accomplish his object materially changed. As early as 1847 he is said to have consulted with Fred Douglass and secured his approval of a scheme for transporting fugitive slaves into a free country, and protecting them until such transportation could be accomplished.

Afterwards, in discussing the Harper's Ferry incident, Brown declared that his only object was to establish on slave soil a defensible station, within reach of the Pennsylvania border, where the fugitive slaves could defend themselves until transferred, as occasion offered, through the free states to Canada.

By the year 1857 Brown had evidently reached the conclusion that his end could only be accomplished by resort to arms, for in that year he established at Tabor, Iowa, a school for military drill, and later a similar school at Springdale, Iowa. During the same year he obtained possession of 200 rifles which had been contributed by George L. Stevens of Massachusetts, for the use of the Free State people of Kansas, and began negotiating with friends for money, ammunition, etc., and in 1858 he made a trip north to raise money to be used in carrying out his scheme.

On the 3d of June, 1858, he left Boston with permission to retain the rifles, also with \$500 in gold; later he made other collections of money and contracted with a Connecticut firm for the manufacture of 1,000 pikes.

Brown does not seem to have realized the difficulty of collecting an army to be composed of fugitive slaves, nor to have realized that the placing of a pike in the hand of such men would not convert them into soldiers.

Harper's Ferry seemed well suited for his purposes. Accordingly, in June, 1859, Brown and two of his sons appeared in that neighborhood for the avowed purpose of buying a home, or renting a farm for a term of years. They gave the name of Smith, John Brown himself being known as Isaac Smith. They succeeded in renting a place known as "The Kennedy Farm," where they resided unsuspected by the neighbors until the attack on Harper's Ferry, when Brown was recognized, after his capture, by Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart, of the United States troops, who had known him in Kansas and who addressed him by his true name when he was captured. Brown's daughter, Ann, and his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Owen Brown, kept house for them. Here they gradually received the rifles from Ohio and the pikes from Connecticut, and gathered together their men.

In August he met Fred Douglass by appointment. They met in an abandoned and long-neglected rock quarry near Chambersburg. Douglass brought with him the negro, Shields Green, while Brown was accompanied by his trusted friend, Kagi. The meeting was kept strictly secret. They remained in consultation most of Saturday and Sunday. With rocks serving as chairs, they discussed the matter in all of its details, Brown announcing his purpose to take Harper's Ferry. Douglass urged that they should adhere to the former plan of running off slaves, pointing out that Brown's plan would necessarily be fatal to all those engaged; that it would likely be regarded as an attack upon the Federal government, and would arouse the whole country. Brown thought that the whole country should be aroused. He believed that the attack upon Harper's Ferry would be as a great bugle blast at which all of the slaves and their friends would rally, and, armed with rifles and pikes, would be practically invincible. He urged Douglass to join him, but he was as immovable as Brown. When about to leave, Douglass asked Green what he



had decided to do, to which Green replied, "I believe I will go wid de ole man," and he did to the bitter end.

By the middle of October, Brown had collected at the Kennedy Farm twenty-two men, six of them negroes; these spent the days in hiding, only going out at night.

On Sunday evening, October 16, 1859, it was dark, cold and raining. Brown decided that the time for action had come. After delivering a short address to his men, he started to the Ferry with eighteen men, two being left to take care of the supplies at the farm, whilst two were sent to cut the telegraph wires, and then to protect some arms and ammunition left at a schoolhouse, about a mile from the Ferry. By half-past ten they had reached the United States Arsenal, which they broke open with sledge-hammers, and, overpowering the guard, appropriated such of its contents as they desired, and established headquarters. By midnight his men were in possession of the town and quietly patrolling the streets. Six of his men were sent out to arrest some of the more prominent of the slave-owners in the adjoining country, who were to be, and afterwards were, held as hostages.

Shortly after midnight the east-bound express train was due; four men were sent to stop it, and in this effort the negro porter was shot and killed, being the first life to be sacrificed in this enterprise. The train was detained for several hours, but finally, in a moment of weakness, Brown released it and it was allowed to go on, spreading the news of the raid and hastening the doom of the raiders.

When the citizens of the town awoke on Monday, October 17th, from twelve to fifteen prisoners had been brought into the Armory, and several bodies of slaves had been liberated. Among the prisoners was Colonel Washington, the possessor of the historic sword presented to George Washington by Frederick the Great, which Brown had especially directed should be impressed for his own use. In the early hours of the morning, as the citizens of the town appeared on the streets, they were arrested, till some forty or fifty were prisoners in the Armory; but when the town became fully awake, the citizens began to arm themselves and exchanged shots with

Brown and his men. The news spread, and as speedily as possible the State militia was called out. The Jefferson Guards, of Charlestown, under the command of Captain Rowan, arrived some time during the day. This company, together with the citizens, had so depleted Brown's forces that but six remained, and these, together with the more prominent of their prisoners, had been forced to abandon the Armory and take refuge in the engine-house, in the sides of which Brown made holes through which they could shoot. Brown had lost the major part of his men, while on the other side several of the citizens had been killed.

By three o'clock the Winchester Rifles, commanded by Captain Clarke, had arrived, and a little later the Continental Marion Guards, of Winchester, under the command of Captain Lewis Barley, were also on the grounds. These three companies of State militia, commanded by Colonel L. S. Moore, of Winchester, held Brown and his men in the engine-house until the United States Marines, eighty in number, under the command of Colonel R. E. Lee, reached the scene of action, about three o'clock on the morning of October 18th. About seven o'clock Captain J. E. B. Stuart, of the United States forces, offered Brown opportunity to surrender and release his prisoners, promising protection to him and his men and a fair trial by law. Brown declined, being willing to surrender only on condition that he and his men should be allowed to cross the river unmolested.

Fearing that some of the citizens held by Brown as prisoners might be shot, Colonel Lee ordered his soldiers to draw their loads and fix their bayonets on their guns. The door of the engine-house was battered down and Brown and his men taken prisoners, two of the marines being wounded and one killed in the effort. Brown was not to be captured, however, without resistance, and in order to effect his capture Lieutenant Green struck him over the head with a sabre and some of the soldiers wounded him with their bayonets, inflicting the wounds from which he suffered during his trial. Ten of Brown's men were killed, five escaped and the remaining seven were captured.

Excitement was of course very high, and if Brown and his companions had been put in the hands of the civil authorities, or even the State militia, to be conveyed to the jail at Charlestown, it is doubtful whether there would have been any need for a trial. They were, however, escorted to the jail by the United States Marines, whose connection with the matter then ceased, the State militia performing all the necessary guard duty from that time until after the execution.

When Brown reached Harper's Ferry his first act was to take possession of the United States property, and to overpower and remove the United States guards found there. When finally captured it was by the United States troops upon United States property, after a fight in which one of the United States Marines was killed. Were these occurrences to take place today, it will hardly be doubted that jurisdiction of the whole matter would be taken by the United States courts.

As Brown was anxious for time, and doubtless would have preferred that his trial should be held as remote from the scene of his crime as possible, it seems strange that he and his friends did not make an effort to invoke the Federal jurisdiction. It only goes to show how the rights of the States were then regarded as paramount to even that of the general government.

That no effort was made to take these men out of the hands of the law, is most creditable to Virginia. To some extent it may have been due to the conviction, which seems to have been universally prevalent, that they would be tried and convicted within the space of a very few days by the Circuit Court, then just about to hold its fall session.

The general public in and around Harper's Ferry was in no condition to give quarter to Brown or any of his men; still they were satisfied to let the law take its course, now that the prisoners were safely in the Charlestown jail, in the charge of Captain John Avis, the jailer in whose ability to hold them, especially when aided by State militia, the public had absolute confidence; then, too, the public believed that

only a day or two would be needed for the law to vindicate itself and punish the criminals.

The Virginia statute, however, provided that the prisoners should have five days' notice of the preliminary examination, and this must precede the court trial, thus a little delay was occasioned. It was during this period that Governor Wise saw and interviewed Brown. No record of this interview seems to have been preserved, but at its close Governor Wise said: "They are themselves mistaken who take him to be a mad man. He is a bundle of the best nerves I ever saw, cut and thrust and bleeding, and in bonds. He is a man of clear head and courage, fortitude and simple ingenuousness. He is cool, collected and indomitable, and it is but just to him to say that he was humane to his prisoners and he inspired me with great trust in his integrity as a man of truth. He is a fanatic, vain and garrulous, but firm, truthful and intelligent."

The public were not idle, however, whilst they waited for the trial. Rumors of all sorts were rife. There were those who believed that Brown would never have undertaken so perilous and impossible a task, unless there was some arrangement by which he was to be reinforced, either by the slaves who were already organized to take up the fight or by some of the abolitionists of the North, who might appear on the scene at almost any moment; the belief that a rescue would be attempted was well-nigh universal. Brown himself expected to be rescued. A gentleman who acted as one of his guards and spent one or more nights with him in his cell, told me that he expressed the opinion that he would never be executed, but that his friends in the North would make an effort to rescue him, and would succeed. This opinion, my informant says, he retained until the morning of his execution.

These conditions caused the citizens to arm themselves and the Governor to keep the State troops constantly on guard, so that from the time Brown and his men were put in jail until after his execution, Charlestown had much the appearance of a military camp.

The preliminary examination was held on October 25, 1859. The early morning found Charlestown in the possession of the



militia. Cannon were posted before the court-house and every approach was guarded by armed sentries. The tower was crowded with people, not only from the immediate vicinity, but from remote sections, each and all anxious to get a view of the prisoners, and to witness the proceedings. For the most part the crowd was orderly and behaved with great circumspection. There were, however, individuals who indulged in denunciation of the prisoners and their crime. The crowd pressed against the court-house door eager to gain admission, and when finally it was opened the room filled rapidly until there was not standing room. Eight justices of the peace, Col. Davenport presiding, formed the examining board. They ascended the bench, and almost immediately the court-house bell announced that the proceedings were about to begin, and a double file of soldiers marched from within the jail and took their positions on each side of the path leading from the jail to the court room. Along this path and between these soldiers Brown and his associates were escorted in charge of Sheriff Campbell, John Avis, the jailer, and an armed guard. The Commonwealth was represented by Charles Harding, the Commonwealth's attorney of Jefferson county, and Andrew Hunter, who was appointed special prosecutor.

The Attorney of the Commonwealth made inquiry as to whether the prisoners had or desired to have counsel. Brown rose from his chair, disregarding the court, and fixing his eyes on the crowd, as if by his manner to charge that the crowd and not the justices were his judges, he said:

"Virginians, I did not ask for quarter at the time I was taken; I did not ask to have my life spared. The Governor of the State of Virginia tendered me his assurance that I should have a fair trial, but under no circumstances will I be able to attend to my trial. I have no counsel, I have not been able to advise with any one. I know nothing about the feelings of my fellow prisoners, and am utterly unable in any way to attend to my own defense.

"My memory don't serve me. My health is insufficient, though improving. If a fair trial is to be allowed us there are mitigating circumstances that I would urge in our favor,

but if we are to be tried by a mere form, a trial for execution, you might spare yourselves the trouble. I am ready for my fate; I do not ask a trial. I beg for no mockery of a trial, no insult, nothing but that which conscience gives or cowardice would drive you to practice. I ask again to be excused from the mockery of a trial. I do not know what the special design of this examination is; I do not know what is to be the benefit of it to the Commonwealth. I have now little further to ask other than that I may not be foolishly insulted, as only cowardly barbarians insult those who fall into their power."

The court assigned C. J. Faulkner and L. Botts to defend the prisoners. The preliminary examination was, of course, uneventful; a few witnesses were examined and the prisoners sent on to the grand jury, but not until Brown had again objected to the proceedings, and asked for further delay.

Despite the independent and defiant way in which Brown had addressed the examining court, he was not as indifferent to the result as it would seem; almost immediately upon his incarceration he had written to Judge Tilden of Massachusetts, asking his aid in procuring counsel from without the State of Virginia.

As soon as the preliminary examination was over, the Circuit Court of Jefferson county opened its fall session, Judge Richard Parker presiding; a grand jury was impanelled, charged by the court and sent to their room.

On the next day, October 26th, the grand jury returned a true bill against the five prisoners, Brown, Stevens, Coppoc, Copeland and Shields Green (the last two negroes) for treason, advising and conspiring with slaves and others to rebel and for murder, each offense punishable with death. Thomas Rutherford was foreman of this grand jury. (Cook and Hazlett were subsequently arrested, indicted and tried.) The prisoners were brought into court; Faulkner had declined to act as counsel for the defense, and Thomas C. Green, the mayor of Charlestown, had been appointed in his stead. The prisoners elected to be tried separately, and the Commonwealth elected to try Brown first. Upon his arraignment, and

before the indictment was read, Brown again asked for a postponement; his address much more respectful than that delivered the day previous to the examining justices, and his request was based upon his physical condition, making no mention of any desire to obtain other counsel. This request was presented by his attorneys. The court called the jail physician, who testified that Brown's condition was not such as to preclude his giving proper attention to the details of his trial. The court overruled the motion, and the trial was begun. Whilst the indictment was being read, Brown was supported by two of the court officers, and when it was ended he lay down upon a cot which had been placed in the court room for his use. Many of those who attended the trial have supposed that Brown need not have used this cot as continuously as he did; as a matter of fact, he spent a large part of his time there, and appeared to be but little interested in what was transpiring. He made no suggestions and gave no assistance to his counsel, but he kept sufficiently abreast of the proceedings to interpose whenever it suited him to do so.

Twenty-four veniremen had been summoned for the trial; four of these were rejected and others summoned from the bystanders. Fourteen of the bystanders were summoned before the four vacancies were filled. The panel being complete, the prisoner struck off eight, and from the remaining sixteen twelve were selected by lot, who constituted the jury. The prisoner was remanded to jail and the court adjourned until the next day. Thus ended the first day of John Brown's trial.

It does not appear just how searching the examination of these jurors was; it was remarkable, however, that in the then condition of the public mind and the universality of the feeling, that twenty-four jurors, free from exception, should have been obtained out of the first thirty-eight persons called.

When the court assembled the next morning the crowd had not diminished, nor was the military display any less imposing.

As soon as the court assembled, Mr. Botts again moved for a delay, stating that he had information to the effect that

there was insanity in Brown's family, and he desired a short time to investigate and obtain the evidence. In the midst of Botts' plea the expected took place. Brown rose from his cot, and addressing the court, he denied that there was any insanity in his father's family, denied that he was mentally defective, and took issue with the position of his attorney. Botts was taken by surprise, and did not further press the matter; but Mr. Green, his associate, after explaining his embarrassment at the situation, insisted that they were entitled to make an investigation. Mr. Hunter made a short reply. The court ruled that the request could not be considered, there being no sworn statement in support of the defense of insanity.

The opening statements were made by the attorneys for the Commonwealth and the defense, and the examination of the witnesses begun. The Commonwealth introduced a number of witnesses who testified to the facts as to the raid, practically agreeing in all the important details, and varying only to the extent men will differ in stating facts of any given transaction. It was shown that Fountaine Beckham, the mayor of Harper's Ferry, and several of its citizens, were killed by Brown and his men.

Some correspondence between Brown and Joseph R. Giddens, the leading abolitionist in Ohio, Garrett Smith, and perhaps others, together with certain documentary evidence, which included a copy of the constitution and ordinances which had been framed by Brown for the government of his followers, and which were found at the Kentucky Farm, were introduced in evidence.

The preamble to this constitution was in the following words:

"A. Whereas, Slavery throughout its entire existence in the United States, is none other than the most barbarous, unprovoked and unjustifiable war of one portion of its citizens against another portion, the only conditions of which are perpetual imprisonment and hopeless servitude or absolute extermination; in utter disregard and violation of those eternal and self-evident truths set forth in our Declaration of Inde-



pendence; therefore, we, the citizens of the United States and the oppressed people, who by a recent decision of the Supreme Court, are declared to have no right which the white man is bound to respect, together with all the other people degraded by the laws thereof, do for the time being ordain and establish for ourselves the following provisional constitution and ordinances, the better to protect our people, property, lives and liberties, and to govern our actions."

One of the articles (No. 46) provided: "The foregoing articles shall not be construed so as in any way to encourage the overthrow of any State government, or of the general government of the United States, and we look to no dissolution of the Union; but simply to amendment and repeal; and our flag shall be the same that our fathers fought under in the Revolution."

The court adjourned for the day, before the Commonwealth had completed its testimony.

The constitution and ordinances referred to were adopted by a convention called by Brown, and denominated by him a "Provisional Constitutional Convention," which met at Chatham, Canada, on Saturday, May 8, 1858, and which was composed in the main of the men who had followed him from Kansas and such sympathizers as he had been able to gather in the neighborhood of Chatham. It was presided over by a negro preacher named Moore, and Kagi was its secretary; Brown himself being its ruling spirit.

This constitution provides the qualifications for citizenship, for a Congress composed of only one house, a President, a Secretary of State, a Secretary of War, a Treasurer, a Secretary of the Treasury, and a Commander-in-Chief of the Army, prescribing the duties of each, and provides generally, though in a crude sort of fashion, for the conduct of the government, and the organization of the army.

Attached to this paper is a schedule which provides that the president of the convention should call another convention to fill all the offices provided for, and issue commissions to those elected. Much discussion seems to have taken place over the adoption of Article 46, but it was finally adopted with only one dissenting voice.

Immediately after the adjournment of this convention, the convention for the election of officers met in the same building; not being able to complete its labors that evening, it adjourned till Monday, May 10th, when it concluded its business and the final adjournment was had.

This convention elected the following officers:

Commander-in-Chief of the Army—John Brown.

Secretary of War—J. H. Kagi.

Secretary of State—Richard Realf.

Treasurer—Owen Brown.

Secretary of Treasury—Jas. B. Gills.

Members of Congress—Alfred M. Ellsworth and Osborne Anderson, and appointed a committee of which John Brown was chairman, with full power to fill by election, all offices provided for by the provisional constitution which might be vacant after the meeting adjourned.

This convention elected Thos. M. Kinnard to the position of President, but Kinnard was present and declined the honor; it then elected J. W. Loguen; he was not present, but great doubt was expressed as to his acceptance, and the matter was left in the hands of the committee above referred to.

None of these persons seem ever to have attempted to perform any of the duties devolving upon them except John Brown, who, as Commander-in-Chief, organized his forces, and some seventeen months later, began war at Harper's Ferry.

When, on the third day of the trial (October 28th) the court had convened and the trial was about to proceed, a young man, apparently but little more than twenty-one years of age, arose in the bar and announced that his name was George Henry Hoyt, of Boston, a member of the bar, who had come all the way from Massachusetts to defend the prisoner. Of his coming neither Brown or any one else knew. The prisoner's counsel were not disposed to permit this interference, but when Brown insisted that he should be allowed to appear, they withdrew their objection. Mr. Hunter, however, did oppose his appearing. He suggested that Hoyt was a mere boy; that he had produced no evidence of the fact that

he was a practicing attorney, and in view of his self-appointment, the court should require satisfactory evidence of his right to appear. Mr. Hunter has been much criticized by Brown's biographers and the Northern press, for this action, which they denominated as unprofessional conduct. If Hoyt's real position had been known, the populace would have relieved the situation and ended all discussion.

Judge Parker, unwilling to deprive the prisoner of any aid which he might be able to obtain, decided to dispense with formal proof in the matter and Hoyt was duly sworn in as counsel for the defense. This matter being settled, the Commonwealth proceeded with its testimony, pursuing the same lines followed the day before, and then rested its case.

The time had arrived for the defense to introduce its testimony; there had been no direct evidence to show that Brown, personally, had inflicted a single wound or injury upon any one during the conflict. There were some technical objections to be made to the indictment, or rather to the relevancy of the testimony introduced under it. It was the purpose of the attorneys for the defense to make the most of these matters, but Brown had his own ideas; he had determined the lines along which the defense was to proceed, and he was unwilling that any other course should be pursued. He had caused certain witnesses to be summoned, and he demanded that his counsel should follow the path that he had marked out. In vain Botts and Green protested; Brown was immovable, and they were finally forced to submit to his dictation.

The witnesses introduced for the defense were for the most part the gentlemen whom he had held as hostages, and the object of their testimony was to show that he was humane and considerate in the treatment of his prisoners, and did not desire unnecessarily to shed blood. This, together with the testimony showing what he alleged to be the improper treatment received by the men sent by him to negotiate terms of surrender, and especially as to the killing of Thompson, one of his men, was about all he had to offer.

The attorneys for the Commonwealth opposed the admission of this class of testimony, but the attorneys for the defense

persisted, and in one way and another succeeded in getting all the testimony before the jury, as irrelevant as it appears to have been.

Several of the witnesses for the defense failed to answer when called, but all the facts were before the jury. These witnesses would only have been cumulative.

When it appeared that the defense had about exhausted its testimony, and the trial was nearing its conclusion, Brown rose and proceeded to deliver a speech of denunciation and appeal. The trial, he declared, was a farce. His witnesses had not been compelled to appear; his counsel were not to be relied on, and he demanded that the case be adjourned and he be given further time.

No sooner was he seated than Messrs. Botts and Green retired from the case, after expressing their surprise and disgust at the reflection which had been made upon their conduct.

Thus young Hoyt was left alone in the case; and never did a young man face a more trying ordeal; he had just come to the bar, and was without experience, he was unacquainted with the law and the practice of the Virginia courts. Then, too, Hoyt must have been affected by a fact which no one in all the audience suspected, but which subsequently appears to have been established as a fact, viz.: that he had never expected or intended to defend the prisoner, but was the advance agent of a party who contemplated a rescue, if the conditions were favorable, and had assumed the role of counsel solely in order that he might have access to the jail and the prisoners so as to advise whether or not a rescue were possible, and if so, to give the rescue party needed information.

But Hoyt explained his lack of experience and knowledge of the Virginia practice, and begged for further time. Messrs. Green and Botts, although their connection with the case was ended, seconded the efforts of Hoyt, and agreed to give him such aid and assistance as they could to enable him to prepare the case. The court granted the request and adjourned until the next day; and so ended the third day of the trial.



On October 29th, the fourth day of the trial, when the court assembled, Mr. Samuel Chilton, of Washington, and Mr. Hiram Griswold, of Cleveland, Ohio, both lawyers of ability and standing, who had been secured by Brown's friends, appeared in court and were admitted as counsel for defendant. Some time was consumed by these gentlemen in the effort to advise themselves as to the situation; a little testimony to the same effect as that given the day before was submitted.

The instructions to the jury were obtained without much delay. Mr. Harding made the opening argument for the Commonwealth, and the fourth day of the trial passed into history.

The next day being Sunday, the court adjourned until Monday, October 31st.

The crowd in attendance suffered little or no diminution by the intervention of the Sabbath; Monday morning found the populace as much interested as formerly.

This, the fifth day of the trial, was consumed in the arguments of counsel, which were concluded in the early afternoon. No statement of these speeches seems to have been preserved. The known ability of the participants is a guarantee that they were forceful and able. After a short absence the jury returned into court, having found a verdict in the following words: "We, the jury, find the defendant, John Brown, the prisoner at the bar, guilty of treason, advising and conspiring with slaves and others to rebel, and for murder in the first degree." Signed by J. C. Wiltshire, foreman.

When the jury filed into the court room a solemn hush fell upon the audience. During an intense silence, the clerk read the verdict, and the jurors gave their assent thereto. The verdict met with the approval of all in that vast gathering; yet there was no applause, no expression of approval; silently the crowd passed from the court room, and soon after dispersed.

Brown himself received the verdict with perfect composure; he merely turned upon his cot, as if seeking a more comfortable position. He did not believe the sentence would ever be

executed; but if he had believed otherwise, he was possessed of too much nerve to weaken in the presence of his enemies.

On November 2d, Brown was brought into court for sentence. When asked by the court if he had or knew anything to say why the court should not pass judgment upon him, he said:

“I have, may it please the court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted, the design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

“I have another objection; and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer a penalty. Had I interfered in the matter which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case), had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great or in behalf of any of their friends, father, mother, brother, sister or wife or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

“This court acknowledged, as I suppose, the validity of the Law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least, the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me further to ‘remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.’ I endeavored to act up to instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I always freely ad-

mitted I have done, in behalf of His despised poor was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I submit; so let it be done!

“Let me say one word further.

“I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt, I have stated from the first what was my intention and what was not. I never had any design against the life of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite the slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind.

“Let me also say a word in regard to the statements made by some of those connected with me. I hear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. There is not one of them but joined me of their own accord, and the greater part of them at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with till the day they came to me; and that was for the purpose I have stated.

“Now I have done.”

Again a solemn hush fell upon the crowd; for a moment there was a pause; then Judge Parker calmly sentenced the prisoner to be hanged on the 2d day of December, 1859, by the sheriff of Jefferson county; not in the jail yard, but at such other place in the county convenient thereto as the said sheriff might select.

The defendant tendered, and the court signed, three bills of exceptions taken to certain rulings of the court made during the trial.

Brown was borne back to the jail, the crowd in the courtroom not being permitted to move till he was safely in its walls.

So far as I can find there is no copy now extant of the bills of exceptions taken during the trial, and I have been unable to ascertain upon what ground they were based.

A petition for a writ of error was prepared and presented to the Court of Appeals by no less a lawyer than Mr. William Green, in which it is said that the whole field of legal learning, so far as applicable to the questions at issue, was exhausted. The writ was refused.

The State militia was kept on guard in Charlestown from the date of the trial until the day of the execution.

December 2, 1859, was an almost perfect day; when the hour for the execution arrived Brown, unaided, walked from his cell, into the wagon which awaited him at the jail door, and took his seat upon his coffin. As he ascended the hill on which the gallows stood, casting his eyes around over the landscape, he quietly remarked to those about him, that it was a beautiful day, and that a most beautiful country.

He ascended the gallows firmly and without a tremor. Spying a lone colored woman on the edge of the crowd, he waved his hand towards her and said, "Remember, I die a martyr for your race." When the time came to place the cap upon his head, he took off the old hat he wore and tossed it from him, as if to say, "I have no further use for you."

He had no statement to make. He declined to accept the services of any clergyman, though they were offered. With as little delay as possible the rope which held the trap-door on which he stood was cut, and John Brown's earthly career was ended.

That John Brown was conscientiously opposed to slavery will hardly admit of doubt. For the conscientious convictions of any man on any subject, all right-thinking men must have respect.

Brown's efforts in behalf of the cause which he had espoused, so long as they exhibited themselves in proper ways and along proper lines, are not to be harshly criticised. His indomitable will and great personal courage were most desirable qualities.



But when he announced as his creed that all slave-holders had forfeited the right to live, he ceased to be the advocate of a principle, and demonstrated that he had become an outlaw, with an utter disregard for both law and order.

When he adopted a constitution and set of ordinances so as to provide that his followers should disregard the laws of the State and the United States, and render allegiance to the government set up by him, and organized an army, however small and inefficient, to enforce his mandates, he was guilty of treason.

When, in spite of his own constitution, he declined to seek the remedy for the ills of which he complained by "Amendment or repeal of existing laws," and forcibly released slaves and arrested their owners, he became subject to the penalties prescribed by the statute in such case made and provided. When he gathered together a body of men, armed them with guns and pikes with which to kill and slaughter, and put that intention into effect, he became a murderer.

He met with no mob violence. An able and impartial judge presided at his trial, able lawyers looked to his defense. Every fact was proved in evidence. His guilt was absolutely established, and whatever divergent views may have existed upon the question of slavery, all fair and impartial minds must concede that the judgment was just and the penalty properly inflicted.

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*Hamilton County*—The editor of the Freeman of Webster City offers a premium of \$10 to the boy under 18 years of age, who shall raise in Hamilton county the best acre of corn in the year 1858. Well done, Mr. Freeman. Your efforts to advance the interests of agriculture, and to stimulate the young to an increased attention to farming pursuits, are certainly commendable. In due process of time, give us the name of the successful boy, and we will take pleasure in publishing him.—*The Iowa Citizen*, (Des Moines), Jan. 12, 1858.

## THE DEFOE FAMILY IN IOWA.

BY ONA ELLIS SMITH.

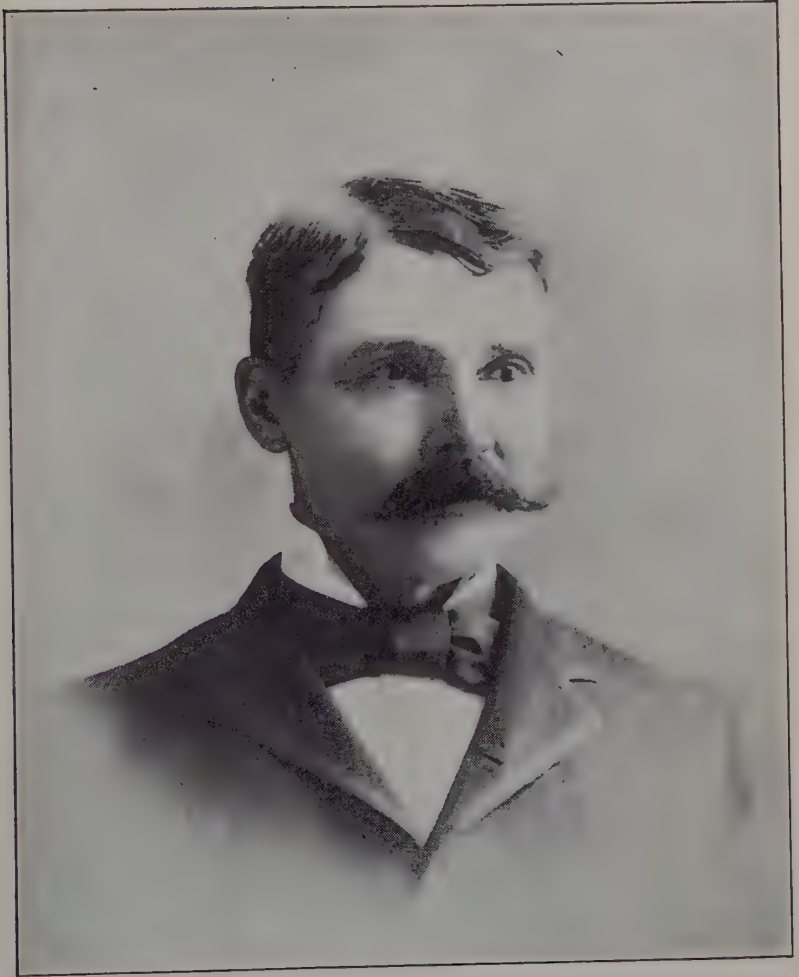
The romantic story of the settlement in America of the Defoe family,<sup>1</sup> has been retold many times by the eastern press but the fact that direct descendants of the original immigrant, Elizabeth Maxwell, niece of Daniel Defoe, have been residents of Iowa for three score and ten years, will revive interest in the story, and may prove of historical value.

In the year 1705, Daniel Defoe, on account of his persistent writing upon the exciting subjects of that day, was compelled to seek a safe retreat under the roof of his widowed sister, Elizabeth Maxwell, in the city of London. His pamphlet, entitled "Shortest way with Dissenters," for which he suffered the punishment of the pillory, fine and imprisonment, was written three years before he took up his abode in his sister's home.

An interesting personal description of Daniel Defoe, some of the characteristics set forth being noticeable in his Iowa descendants, was given in a proclamation issued by Queen Anne's ministers shortly after the publication of that pamphlet:

"Whereas Daniel De Foe, *alias* De Fooe, is charged with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet entitled, 'The Shortest way with Dissenters.' He is a middle-sized, spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark-brown colored hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth; was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor, in Freeman's yard in Cornhill; and now is the owner of the brick and pantile works near Tilbury Fort in Essex; whoever shall discover the said Daniel De Foe to one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, or any of Her Majesty's justices of the peace, so he may be apprehended, shall have a reward

<sup>1</sup>The Defoe Family in America, Scribner's Monthly, vol. xii, p. 61.



CAPT. ALBERT ELLIS





of £50, which Her Majesty has ordered immediately to be paid upon such discovery."

On his release he was again imprisoned for writing political pamphlets, but through the influence of Lord Oxford he was liberated and in the safe retreat of his sister's home he continued to send forth his barbed arrows.

A small room was fitted up to be used as a study by him, and it was in this seclusion, in the year 1719, that "Robinson Crusoe" was written.

His sister's only child, Elizabeth, was five years of age when her uncle came to live with them, and she received her education in his quiet study under his teaching. It was doubtless her active mind and interest in her studies that aroused his interest in the higher education of women which he especially advocated.

At the age of eighteen the daughter, Elizabeth, engaged herself to marry one to whom her mother was bitterly opposed, and the engagement was very unceremoniously broken off by her. This so angered Elizabeth that she left home secretly and embarked for America on a sailing vessel, bargaining with the captain to be sold on her arrival to reimburse him for her passage.

Upon arriving at Philadelphia she, with a number of other passengers, was offered for sale.

Andrew Job, an inn-keeper and wealthy Quaker citizen of Baltimore, chancing to be in the city, bought this runaway Quaker maiden and took her with him when he returned to the "Blue-ball Inn," to aid his good wife in her many household duties.

Elizabeth Maxwell seems to have been satisfied in her new home, for six years later, in the year 1725, she became the wife of Andrew Job's son, Thomas.

Soon after her marriage she wrote to her mother and uncle, telling them of her new happiness and giving them the first knowledge of her location since her disappearance.

As soon as possible she received a reply from her uncle Daniel, stating that her mother was dead and that considerable property, in addition to her mother's household goods, was left

by will to her, in case she was found. An inventory of the goods was sent by him, and especially was she asked to cherish certain articles of furniture, because they had descended to the family from their Flemish ancestors. He also apologized for the condition of two chairs, the wicker seats of which had worn out and been replaced by wooden ones. These two chairs are still in a good state of preservation, one being now owned by a great-great-granddaughter of Elizabeth Maxwell Job,—Miss Hannah A. Griffith<sup>1</sup> of Calvert, Cecil county, Maryland—and the other by the State Historical Society of Delaware.<sup>2</sup>

In 1726 a son was born to Thomas and Elizabeth Job. Other children were born later to this couple but this eldest son, named Archibald, became the ancestor of the Iowa branch of the Defoe family. In the year 1752 on the 30th day of July, he married Margaret Reese.

During the Revolutionary War Archibald Job and his three grown sons gave much information and valued aid to Wash-

<sup>1</sup>The following letter from Hannah A. Griffith gives some interesting information relating to the Job family:

"Calvert, Third month, twelfth. (March, 1909.)

"To Ona Ellis Smith:

"Thine of the 8th received yesterday. Rather a surprise to me for a relative to greet me from that distance. Was not aware that my name and the fame of the old chair had traveled that far. I have had several photos of the chair but now have only one which I would not like to part with, but have just written to the artist to know if he has any copies on hand. If he has I will try to get one for thee. That old chair has been the subject for numerous newspaper items. Thee asks if I have any other relics of the Job family. Not any so old as the chair, but I have a very nice sound stand that belonged to my great-aunt, Hannah Job, which is greatly admired; and I have a marriage certificate of my great-grandfather and mother, dated on the 29th of 10th month, 1758. It is written on parchment and is well preserved, except that a mouse has cut it slightly.

"I should have said those great grandparents were Daniel Job, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Job, and Mary Brown, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth Brown, of West Nottingham, then considered in the province of Pennsylvania.

"Thee probably has read Mary E. Ireland's article on The Defoe Family in America. It has been very widely published and is more correct than many things that are handed down by tradition. If thee has not read it, I think I can send it to thee. I have always had a strong desire to know more of the descendants of the Job family in the western states. In my mother's life I kept up a correspondence for her with two of the daughters of Archibald Job, who lived in Ohio, but of late I hear nothing of the family.

"The Job family is so nearly extinct in this locality that I have felt curious to know if the name was being increased in any other part of the country. Some of the name emigrated to Virginia a generation ago, and there may be many of the name in some section there. There are but two of the name here now, Haines Job and a very delicate son.

"I fear I am making my letter tiresome and will draw it to a close. Hope thee will excuse my writing as I am in the 80th year of my age, and my hand not very steady, and whilst not an invalid, I am a shut-in in the winter time.

"With kind regards, I will close.

HANNAH A. GRIFFITH.

"Nottingham, Chester Co. P."

<sup>2</sup>Year Book, Historical Society of Delaware, 1901, p. 17.

ington and Lafayette's armies as they passed through that part of the country. Archibald and his sons, Thomas and Morris, were also members of a scouting party—of which Archibald was captain—which became so active that they were disowned by the "Society of Friends"—of which they were birthright members—for "encouraging and participating in war-like measures."

Two daughters of Morris Job became the wives of brothers, sons of William Blair—a Revolutionary soldier who is buried at Kossuth, Iowa—Sarah Job wedding David E. Blair and Margaret Job becoming the wife of Thomas Blair. These great-granddaughters of Elizabeth Maxwell Job came to Iowa when it was yet a part of Michigan Territory and their husbands and sons took a prominent part in early day politics.

Thomas Blair, husband of Margaret Job, represented Des Moines county in the first session of the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature and also in the second session of that body which assembled at Burlington. He was also a member of the first Iowa Territorial Legislature. David E. Blair was a member of the Fifth Territorial Legislature, and of the First General Assembly of the State of Iowa.

Morris William Blair, son of Sarah Job and David E. Blair, is well known throughout the State. He is the most distinguished representative of the Defoe family now residing in Iowa. Coming here more than seventy years ago, he still resides upon the farm in Des Moines county, which his parents homesteaded in 1837. With means to gratify any reasonable desire, he prefers the simple life, living alone; for he has never married.

In a letter he says: "I am living in the house my father substituted for the claim cabin in 1840, have never been away from it. The wind blows through the boards—but I have four fires; the roof leaks—but I have a dry corner for my gun, another for my books and yet another for my range and cupboard.

"I have three good cousins whose horses and cows I pasture, who fill my basket twice a week with a pie, a loaf, and a jar of milk; the garden, the old hens and I do the rest."

In him are conspicuous the characteristics of the Defoe family from Daniel down to the relatives of the present day; remarkable longevity, a disposition to remain unmarried or to marry late in life, and the indomitable independence of spirit so prominent in the character of Daniel Defoe and his niece, Elizabeth.

In the year 1845, Hannah, daughter of Thomas Job and wife of Job Ellis, came west from Ohio with her husband and family of eleven children, the eldest son, Thomas, having preceded the family two years. They settled upon a farm one mile south of the present village of Cairo in Louisa county, and there reared their large family to honorable manhood and womanhood.

The two younger sons answered the call to arms in 1861, Harvey, the youngest of the eleven, dying from disease contracted in the service. Albert, the tenth child, entered as a private, serving as Second Lieutenant, First Lieutenant, and Captain of Company C, Fifth Iowa Infantry, and as Captain of Company G, Fifth Iowa Cavalry, being honorably discharged for disability, November 9, 1864. He was in all the marches and battles of his command during his term of service.

After his return to civil life he took an active interest in local and state politics, representing Louisa county in the Twelfth General Assembly, was sheriff of Louisa county from 1876 to 1882 and in 1890 was appointed Revenue Agent by President Harrison—in recognition of his service to the Republican party.

He was an active figure in Iowa public life for thirty-five years, giving the best years of his life to the State.

In April, 1863, he came home from the front on furlough and married the daughter of one of Louisa county's pioneer citizens, Miss Alice Nichols. Of the seven children born to them only one now resides in the State, two dying in infancy and three daughters and a son residing in other states. Captain Ellis and his wife are now residents of Pueblo, Colorado.

Hannah Job Ellis, as well as her cousins, Sarah and Margaret Job Blair are buried in Iowa. Hannah rests in the Friends' burying ground at Pleasant Plain, Jefferson county, and Margaret and Sarah Blair sleep in the cemetery at Kossuth, Des Moines county.



# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

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### SUNDRY UNJUST BURTHENS.

The above is the heading of an editorial for the *Annals of Iowa*, prepared by Charles Aldrich, its editor, and the founder of the Historical Department of Iowa. His thought was upon the then recent appropriation for the completion of the Historical Building, a contribution toward housing an institution devoted essentially to administration of the historical, memorial and art interests of the State.

### SUNDRY UNJUST BURTHENS.

It has been the fortune of the Historical Department of Iowa to carry certain burthens which should entitle us to a consideration we have never received. We refer to the appropriations made for the erection of the Historical Building. We have constantly, ever since the collections were transferred to the west wing of the new building, been held and considered to be asking, like Oliver Twist, for more. The moneys that have been appropriated for this prevented us from receiving our just share of money for the increase of our Museum, and for the purchase of books, and for other expenses, which we have been unable to meet from the limited amount that has been assigned to the Department. Were the writer to ask for additional funds, the economical senator or representative would say, "Just look at the thousands you are getting for the building!" We have taken occasion sometimes to tell them that while we are glad to see the appropriations for the construction of the edifice, the charging of them against this Department is a sort of starvation and checking of efforts which should be promptly put forth, not only to increase the Museum, but to increase the Department in other directions.

We have always regarded the Museum as the most important adjunct to this Department, aside perhaps from *The Annals*. The Museum needs or should have two or three thousand dollars a year, for the following reason: It is the most visited and most prized and the most valuable exhibit which has been placed before the masses of our people. The State University can make a much more attrac-

tive exhibit, but it is in a way a sort of exclusive affair, devoted largely to the interests of the students. This is all right, and we would not reduce the growth of the State Museum at Iowa City for any consideration. But the thousands of people who come to Des Moines should also be considered in the work of building up a Museum. It is unjust that the only resource for increasing the objects in the Museum is that of solicitation—begging, as Mr. Thwaites of the Wisconsin Historical Society phrases it. All of the historical organizations in the middle west with which we are acquainted are constantly making additions to their collections in this direction. We are not informed whether this is done by solicitation wholly or mostly, but we presume that some money is invested in this direction. We cannot but regard it as unjust to the people living on the farms throughout our State, that our Museum is not constantly replenished with something fresh in the direction of objects of interest. The policy has seemed to be to charge the Historical Department with the appropriations for the completion of the building, and to withhold additions to our resources with which to purchase.

Explanation of the meagerness of funds for the purchase of materials and the performance of the work of the Department itself shows the attitude of legislators at that time. Considered from every view-point except that of the Curator, who bore the responsibility for practical results, it was correct. Mr. Aldrich's thought was only of the flying years with their opportunities, and of the passing of men and materials. Theoretically the State should have provided for herself, in a single act, an appropriate edifice, a complete staff of workers and an ample support fund. Practically, however, only part at that time was possible.

But the burthens with which Mr. Aldrich felt his work was saddled, namely, the carrying upon its account, so to speak, the expenditures for the building, are felt by his successors. Appropriations for the work have ever been attenuated in consequence of those for the building. With the meager funds, it was only the admixture of extraordinary zeal, ingenuity and the very life of the founder, and of a philanthropy on the part of individual sponsors of the work and of the Board of Trustees, that sustained it for many years. To collect and store materials was necessarily the highest purpose during the building operations. But it is equally important at the

present time to make accessible the materials accumulated and accumulating. What was wise or expedient throughout the years of building—the skimping and starving of the soul of the work that its body might be housed, is wisdom no longer. At the present time when demands for building are removed, a reasonable compensation to the administrative account may be expected so that practical results may be multiplied.

If, for instance, each allusion to the subject of the navigation of the rivers of Iowa which is known to exist among our collections, could be placed before an Iowa editor, a proper consideration by him of the subject might reasonably be expected as a matter of mere hours, whereas if the same person now desire to give the subject such consideration, he must first devote perhaps weeks to the discovery of his materials, and thereafter digest them.

Inquiry was recently received as to whether there was published at the proper time a notice of an ordinance authorizing the use of the public streets of the city of Ottumwa by the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad. The publication preceded the construction by months; it may be said years. The inquiry laid upon us not only the duty of having at hand a file of the newspapers reasonably expected to contain the record, but of making search therefor. The information when found, served a material purpose in the determination of substantial interests of one of our largest cities and one of our greatest corporations. Had our early newspapers been indexed, as we hope they will be in the near future, much time and expense might have been saved the applicant for this information. Under present conditions the best we could do was to furnish the bound volumes of newspapers, with office room in which to make the search.

Inquiry is from time to time made as to what is contained in the personal letters and documents in our keeping. Professor Dodd, in his preparation of studies on Jefferson Davis, travelled from Chicago to Des Moines, and searched for some days among the manuscripts of this Department. He read line by line in order to know whether our collections contained anything touching his subject. The identical material had

been searched within two years by different applicants and for different purposes.

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the New York Post, in the preparation of his book on John Brown, caused an assistant to visit us, who remained some days examining our John Brown materials in a similar way. Like uses are sought of the museum objects illustrating past life in the State. To groups of valuable objects or documents, the busy public is entitled to as quick and complete access and use as is afforded in any business or record office.

Where a valuable object exists, but is not in our possession, it is our duty to the public to secure and preserve it. Procuring and making useful the materials illustrative of our history are possible only with funds, and these sufficient for the most diligent and effective effort seem now for the first time reasonably to be expected. There is prospect then of securing many additional materials relating to the development of Iowa; the thorough indexing of Department publications, of newspaper and document files now in or that may be added to the collection, at least up to and including the period of the Civil War, and the placing of such index ready to the hand of the busy searcher who may reasonably demand the maximum of results from the minimum expenditure of his time and money; the publication of some of the valuable original manuscripts now in the possession of the Department, making the material more readily available; the acquisition, preservation and display of such specimens as exemplify all animal or plant life within the State; the acquisition and proper treatment of source materials upon Iowa municipal and county as well as state history; the stimulation of and assistance toward enterprise for preserving and marking sites within the State having historic, scenic or scientific value; the circulation of information, material objects and other source materials into all localities within the State, and the further stimulation and assistance toward local historical studies; the entertainment by this institution of patrons, students and scholars, who augment our collections or enhance their value; the collection of art objects within the scope of our work and the stimula-



tion of interest in and the use of these. It is impossible to obtain these objects without adequate funds.

The sundry burthens, then, borne by the administrative element of the Historical Department of Iowa, ought now at the first opportunity to be removed. With our building in advance of that of nearly every other State, and our collections in some respects excelling all the rest, the other step toward success, namely, provision of modern and adequate administrative machinery must next be made. On the whole with a smaller biennial appropriation than heretofore, a work which has the approval of the general public and is deemed useful by the practical patron, can be made the indispensable instrument of benefit to all as the founder intended it to be. It should very soon result in instant and accurate response by the Historical Department to all appeals for historical and archive information concerning Iowa and the Middle West.

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### ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HIS CLIENTS.

The appropriate relations of attorneys-at-law to their clients, to adverse parties, and to the public, is a subject that often perplexes moralists and philosophers. The many phases of the subject are illustrated most interestingly in the career of Abraham Lincoln as a lawyer in Illinois.

Chroniclers relate that even when the technicalities of the law gave to flinty-hearted claimants or litigants a definite advantage he would now and then make tremendous appeals to the sensibilities of jurors and by sheer eloquence sweep them away from their moorings of contract and secure the equity that humanity demands for the orphan or widow or a friend caught unwittingly in the nets of adverse circumstances. His biographers tell us of his frequent refusal to accept a retainer from any one of high or low estate whose case was bottomed on fraud or smacked of trickery. Tradition deals with various instances when he summarily dropped causes in the midst of trial on discovering that he had been grossly misinformed as to essential facts or had been hoodwinked by his client respecting any questionable transaction.

There recently came to the Historical Department for examination an original letter of Mr. Lincoln's,—never before made public, we believe—that strikingly illustrated another phase of his character and conduct as a lawyer. In the forepart of "the fifties" Mr. Lincoln received from Mr. L. M. Hays, one of the pioneers of Sangamon county, Illinois, a promissory note for collection. On proceeding with the matter he found the debtor to be poor and a cripple.

Moreover, the debtor refused to pay the note on the ground that the original drawee (or a prior holder) on his death bed had ordered the note delivered to him or destroyed. Mr. Lincoln apparently did not proceed with the collection rapidly, for his client on September 30, 1852, wrote inquiring as to the progress made and the prospects for returns. Mr. Lincoln's response—a brief note which appears in facsimile on opposite page—is interesting for it displays an attitude not usually accredited to lawyers in pursuit of clients and fees.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lincoln notified Mr. Hays that he had deliberately neglected to enforce his rights in the premises when he could have secured judgment. Pity for the debtor in distress caused him to agree to a postponement of the hearing.

The debtor's statement that a prior holder or the original creditor had waived or cancelled the obligation was almost a violent assumption when the note was in the hands of third parties and presumably innocent purchasers. Conceding the possibility that the debtor's contention was bona fide, it rested on a parol agreement, the evidence or proof of which, death had destroyed so that third parties could not thereby suffer prejudice.

The incident affords an excellent illustration of the perplexities that ever and anon confront and disturb the practicing lawyer. When an amount in controversy is not large,

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<sup>1</sup>  
L. M. HAYS, ESQ.

Springfield, Oct. 27, 1852.

DEAR SIR: Yours of Sept. 30th just received. At our court, just past, I could have got a judgment against Turley, if I had pressed to the utmost; but I am really sorry for him—*poor* and a *cripple* as he is—He begged time to try to find evidence to prove that the deceased on his death bed, ordered the note to be given up to him or destroyed—I do not suppose he will get any such evidence, but I allowed him until next court to try—

Yours &c

A. LINCOLN.

Springfield, Oct. 27, 1852

L. M. Veaz, Esq.

Dear Sir:

Yours of Sept 30<sup>th</sup> just received - At our court, just past, I could have got a judgment against Tarby, if I had pressed to the utmost; but I am really sorry for him - poor and a crippled as he is - He begged time to try to find evidence to prove that the deceased was his death-bed, and as the note to be given up to him or destroyed - I do not suppose he will get any such promise, but I advise him to visit court to try -

Yours H  
A. Lincoln.

The Historical Department of Iowa is indebted to Mrs. E. C. McMillan, of Keokuk, for the loan of the original letter, of which the above is a facsimile.





sympathy is wont to play a large part in its consideration, at least in the attitude of the public toward the matter. When large sums or vast interests are at stake, hard sense and stern logic are rigorously insisted upon, and few gainsay the justice of thus proceeding, although sympathy for the one adversely dealt with may be felt. Mr. Lincoln would appear to have been chargeable with non-feasance—with disregard and neglect of his client's interest because of tenderness of heart; whereas relief was not for him to grant, but was the prerogative or the privilege of his client. The conclusion of the case is not known.

F. I. H.

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#### NEW PUBLICATIONS.

*Thomas Cox, by Harvey Reid: pp XVI, 257. The State Historical Society of Iowa; Iowa City, Iowa, 1909.*

The career of Thomas Cox of Jackson county represents the careers of a large proportion of the pioneers of Iowa—not necessarily of the average pioneer but certainly of a considerable number of the first settlers. He was a pathfinder and pathmaker. As a lawmaker and as a surveyor he marked the lines and set the stakes of law and order. He was a big, bluff, buoyant, hale-fellow-well-met; convivial, forceful, reckless, unsystematic, non-persistent, except under the whip and spur of keen public excitement and crowding events. The records of his life are meager and the exhibits of his work not large. Nevertheless he was a factor of decisive influence in the affairs of our territory, and Mr. Reid has given us an interesting and instructive narrative of Colonel Cox's career. This volume is an expansion of Mr. Reid's article in *The Annals of Iowa* (3d series, Vol. VII: 241-269.)

The span and spaces of Cox's life comprehended three states, Kentucky, Illinois and Iowa. He was a soldier in the War of 1812 and again in the Black Hawk War. In the latter he might have achieved official elevation and distinction, but consciousness of his weaknesses made him shrink from responsibility. He served in various capacities—as Justice of the Peace, as Register of the Land Office, as Deputy United States Surveyor. He was a land speculator and town-site manipulator. He was a member of the Legislature of Illinois and also of the Territorial Legislature of Iowa, becoming Speaker of the House of Representatives (1840) and President of the Council (1844). He was one of the founders of Spring-

field, Illinois, and possibly not ineffective in determining the location of the capital at that point, and he was one of the decisive factors in locating the second capital city of Iowa.

To the majority of his readers the most interesting and valuable portion of Mr. Reid's work is his account of the dispersal of the thieves and outlaws of Bellevue, with whose summary cessation Colonel Cox had not a little to do. In three substantial chapters he tells of the beginnings, progress and culmination of the difficulties between Brown and his pals and Cox and his friends. The situation was dramatic and is here vividly portrayed. In post-prandial discourses and dedicatory addresses and in eulogies one frequently encounters assertions to the effect that lawlessness—crime and lynchings—was conspicuous by its absence in the formative period of Iowa. This account of the "Bellevue War" should effectually abolish such sentimental notions.

Mr. Reid did not have much from which to construct his narrative, but by industrious research and discrimination he has brought together numerous collateral facts which enable him to make a good background whereby the dim outlines of Cox's career and character become definite and indicate substance. Lucidity, force and straightforwardness are noticeable traits of the author's style. In dealing with Cox's faults he exhibits both deftness and delicacy, suggesting them, but refraining from details.

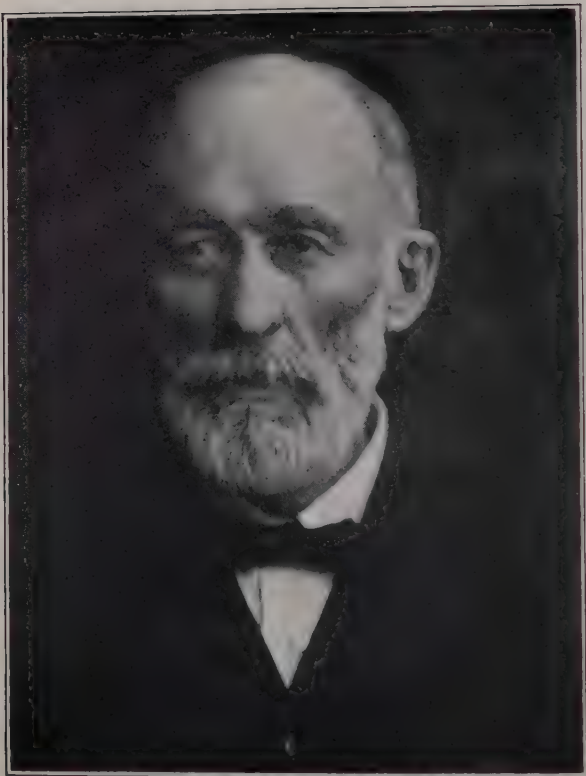
F. I. H.

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*How We Built the Union Pacific Railway, and Other Railway Papers and Addresses. By Major-Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, Chief Engineer of the Union Pacific Railway. Privately Printed.*

As the title indicates, this volume relates mainly to early western railway engineers and engineering. These papers are all in the terse, forceful style of Gen. Dodge, upon engineering and promotion problems and feats, to which the author successfully applied his own great powers. They form an easy and authoritative path through the mazes of published materials on these topics to the sources upon financing and constructing the Union Pacific Railway, and of the considerations and influences determining legislation and other public acts bearing upon this first transcontinental railway. Congress has authorized their publication as a public document. The book is copiously illustrated with photographs and drawings in half-tone.





DR. ELBERT W. CLARK



## NOTABLE DEATHS.

DR. ELBERT WARREN CLARK was born in Vermont, February 11, 1842, and was of Scotch-American parentage. He came to Illinois when twelve years old, and acquired his general education in the country district school and in the high school at Kewanee. He graduated from Rush Medical College in February, 1871, and located in Grinnell, where he practiced medicine constantly until he died on February 16, 1910. He is survived by a worthy and faithful companion, also by E. W. Clark, Jr., a merchant in Grinnell. Dr. Clark was not only an excellent physician and surgeon, but a broad-minded philanthropist, an active and generous citizen, a statesman, a Christian gentleman. He was elected five times as a member of the city council of Grinnell. For six years he was president of the school board. He had been a trustee of Grinnell College since 1898, rendering faithful service as a member of the executive committee. He served as a trustee of the Stewart Public Library of the town and was mayor of Grinnell for four years, during which time great improvements in the way of sewers and water works were installed. At the meeting of the State Medical Society in Cedar Rapids in 1907 Dr. Clark presided. He was a lifelong Republican, casting his first ballot for Abraham Lincoln, whom he went a long way to hear deliver a campaign speech; he voted for every Republican candidate for president since that time. His party called him to serve first as a Representative from Poweshiek county in the Thirty-first General Assembly, then elected him in 1906 to the state Senate from the twelfth district. As a lawmaker, in his quiet way, he exhibited marked wisdom and diplomacy. He rarely missed a session during the three meetings of the General Assembly which he attended, although professional duties required him to spend all of his Sundays and many mid-week nights at home. Although from time to time this good man had various troublesome ailments, and twice at least in later years sustained serious injuries to his chest, so that he often suffered severely and dangerously with tachycardia, no man used time and opportunity to better advantage than did Dr. Clark. In Germany they have a custom of honoring their scientific men. Throughout the land one may see the statues of medical men alongside of great heroes and military leaders, adorning public places. The life of Dr. Clark was a complete success. The town of Grinnell can do nothing to give character and finish to its park, which lies opposite the home of its founder, and which has been crossed thousands of times by the subject of this sketch, better than to place in it statues of J. B. Grinnell and of E. W. Clark. (GERSHOM H. HILL, M. D., in Iowa Medical Journal, March 15, 1910.)

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HENRY HOFFMAN TRIMBLE was born in Rush county, Indiana, May 7, 1827; he died at Keokuk, Iowa, January 9, 1910. He attended school at Woodsfield, Ohio; Franklin, Indiana; Indiana State University, and at Asbury, now De Pauw University, from which he graduated in 1847. He was a volunteer in the Fifth

Indiana regiment of infantry, and served one year in the war with Mexico. After returning to Indiana he taught school in Shelbyville and studied law in the office of Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks. He removed to Bloomfield, Iowa, and there was admitted to the bar in 1850. The same year, and also in 1852, he was elected county attorney of Davis county. He was a Democrat of the old school, was nominated and elected state senator in 1856. In 1861 he took a leading part in the organization of the Third Iowa Cavalry of which he was made Lieutenant-Colonel. In a desperate charge at Pea Ridge, March 7, 1862, he received a wound in the face, the effects of which obliged him to resign his command. He was elected to the district bench after his return and recovery, serving four years. He was an unsuccessful candidate of the Democratic party for judge of the Supreme Court in 1865, as he was for Congress against Samuel R. Curtis in 1858, and against William Loughridge in 1872. He was a delegate at large to the National Democratic Convention in St. Louis in 1876, when Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks were nominated for President and Vice-President. He was a delegate at the convention of 1880 which nominated Gen. Winfield S. Hancock, and in 1884 was a delegate at large to the convention which nominated Grover Cleveland. He was unanimously nominated as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Iowa in 1879. He promoted the construction of the railroad which is now the Wabash line from Bloomfield to Ottumwa, and in 1878 became attorney for the Burlington road, serving with peculiar ability for the remainder of his very active life. In 1881 he was made general attorney for the road, and the next year removed to Keokuk, where his residence thereafter remained. He was a famous trial lawyer. Among his achievements are judgments in some of the most famous criminal battles in the history of southeastern Iowa. He was successful in his connection with the noted Andrew J. Davis will case in the courts of Butte, Montana. He was a large landowner, was the president of a number of banking institutions and the promoter of fine stock breeding. He was of spare build, tall, and in his later years apparently frail. In conserving his health, he resolved his habits into an almost mechanical system of outdoor exercise, and thus he considered that he preserved and prolonged both his physical and mental powers much beyond the period when both might have been expected to have broken. He delighted in the open fields and was a champion with dog and gun. He was a member of the Beta Theta Pi in his college days, and of the Masonic Order.

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WILLIAM F. BRANNAN was born in Washington, D. C., September 24, 1824; he died at Muscatine, Iowa, February 12, 1910. His parents were John and Mary (McLeod) Brannan, natives of Ireland. He received his early education at McLeod's Academy, continuing there after entering the office of the *Globe* as an apprentice at the age of sixteen. In 1843 he removed to Hagerstown, Maryland, near which place he taught in the public schools and later as a tutor in private families. Here he began the study of law, and in 1846 was admitted to the bar. He became a partner in the *Hagerstown Mail*, editing that paper until his appointment as auditor of the court of chancery in 1853. He removed to Muscatine, Iowa, in 1855, and

entered the practice of the law. In 1858 he was nominated by the Democrats and elected the first county superintendent of schools. He served one term and declined renomination. He was appointed a trustee of the University of Iowa about this time and was one of the earliest and most effective advocates of co-education. In 1868 he was a delegate, and in 1884 a delegate and vice-president, of the Democratic National Convention. He was nominated by his party for Congress in the early seventies, and was barely defeated in his district which was strongly Republican. Upon the unanimous recommendation of the bar of Muscatine, in 1872, Governor Carpenter, a Republican, appointed Judge Brannan, a Democrat, to fill a vacancy on the district bench. At the end of his first term, on his refusal to become a partisan candidate, both parties placed his name on their tickets. He was elected, and the wholesome precedent of elevating the bench above partisanship has since been followed in the seventh judicial district. Judge Brannan resigned and re-entered the practice before the expiration of his term, continuing until 1886 when he was returned to the bench. He was nominated in 1869 and again in 1884 for supreme judge, but both times failed to overcome the great Republican majorities. On the district bench he continued to serve uninterruptedly without opposition until January 1, 1903. He then announced his unwillingness to serve longer because of failing health, whereupon the bar of his district, in a meeting at Davenport by resolution unanimously commended his career as having been at all times conscientious, painstaking, honest, fearless, broad-minded and impartial. Judge Brannan possessed an almost marvellous memory and the faculty of lucid expression of opinion. He never abandoned his interest in newspaper work, volunteered much editorial and news matter to the local press, and contributed a series of articles to Chicago papers upon his memory of events at Washington in the time of Andrew Jackson, of which as a lad, he was a witness.

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MARTIN NELSON JOHNSON was born in Racine county, Wis., March 3, 1850; he died at Fargo, N. D., October 21, 1909. When yet in his infancy, he was taken by his father to the family's new home in Winneshiek county, Iowa. In due time young Johnson entered the State University, graduating in 1873. He was for a short time after his graduation instructor in the California Military Academy at Oakland. Returning to Iowa he was admitted to the bar in 1876. He had just been chosen a member of the House of Representatives from his home county. In that body he was made chairman of the committee on the state library. In 1877 he was elected a member of the state Senate, being in that body when the prohibitory amendment to the constitution was adopted for submission to the next General Assembly, and supported that measure. In 1880 he was chairman of the same committee in the Senate. While a senator he secured the adoption of statutory provision under which persons applying for opportunity to teach special subjects are allowed to take examination for such specialty without being required to take a general examination. In 1876 Mr. Johnson was an elector for president and vice-president, casting his vote for Hayes and Wheeler. In 1884 he removed to the territory of Dakota, and there entered the land which was his home to the last. He was

prosecuting attorney for a couple of years, and was president of the body that drafted the constitution for the State of North Dakota. In this convention he resolutely contended for a bicameral legislature, making a strong fight for a legislature with only one house, citing as precedent many other states and countries, including that of his ancestors, Norway. The convention, however, adopted the plan of a legislature with two bodies. When the first Legislature met Mr. Johnson was nominated by the Republican caucus for U. S. Senator, but a combination of disaffected Republicans with the majority party defeated him in the joint convention of the General Assembly. He was chairman of the first Republican convention of the State. In 1890 he was elected to Congress, representing the entire State. He was re-elected four times, serving as a member of the committee on ways and means, and as such participating in framing the tariff law of 1897. He voluntarily retired from Congress in 1889 to become a candidate for United States Senator. Defeated in his candidacy he returned to farming and grain dealing. In 1908 he was again a candidate for United States Senator, and in 1909 was elected by the Legislature a member of that body, taking his seat March 4, 1909.

W. H. F.

LEONARD WOODS PARISH was born in Springfield, Mass., July 4, 1850; he died March 21, 1910, at Marshalltown, from injuries received the same day in a railroad wreck near Green Mountain, Iowa. He was educated in the public schools of New Haven, Conn., and Springfield, Mass., and graduated from Yale in 1872. He began his career as a teacher in the high school of Bradford, Conn., going thence to Glastonbury Academy for two years. He removed to Rock Island, Ill., in 1877, and to Des Moines in 1879, where he served as superintendent of the West Des Moines schools for six years. He served as superintendent of schools at Independence, Iowa, until 1890, when he joined the faculty of the Iowa State Teachers College, then entitled the Iowa State Normal School, at Cedar Falls, Iowa. Here he resided for the rest of his life. He was for five years professor of psychology and didactics. In 1895 he was transferred to the department of political science, and recently was made the head of that department. Throughout his residence in Iowa he was a factor and leading member of the Iowa State Teachers' Association, serving as chairman of the executive committee a portion of the time. He was a curator of the Iowa State Historical Society. He was the author of "Institute Economics" and "Civil Government in Iowa," and a number of other important educational works. His son, Professor John Parish, is assistant editor of the Iowa Journal of History and Politics, and has recently been attached to the faculty of Beloit College.

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P. GAD BRYAN was born of Irish parents near West Carlisle, Coshocton county, Ohio, December 11, 1825; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, March 22, 1910. He moved with his parents from Ohio to Georgetown, Illinois, in 1839, and there lived and worked upon a farm. In 1846 he began the study of medicine and graduated from Wabash Medical College in 1848. In the same year he began the



practice of his profession at Darwin, Ill. In December, 1850, he moved to Indianola, Iowa, where he continued the practice of medicine, meantime studying law. He was admitted to the bar in 1852, when he immediately gave up the practice of medicine and began at once the practice of the law, which he continued until January 1, 1900. Although a life-long Democrat, he was in 1850 elected from Warren county, Iowa, to the Legislature of the State and again re-elected to the same position in 1854. In October, 1875, he removed from Indianola to Des Moines, Iowa, and there continued the practice of the law, and for two terms was elected and served as city solicitor of Des Moines. As a lawyer he possessed many qualities of success. He had a keen sense of humor and justice, and maintained unfalteringly, the highest standard of professional integrity, always commanding the confidence and respect of all whom he encountered. He was an easy and pleasant speaker, with an active and well trained mind, both witty and analytical and withal possessed a pleasing and charming personality. Before removing to Des Moines Colonel Bryan was, in a district largely Republican, twice elected district attorney for the judicial district in Iowa, at that time comprising the counties of Warren, Madison, Polk, Adair, Cass, Dallas, Guthrie, Audubon and Greene. This position he resigned in 1861 to enlist in the Civil War. He was elected captain of Company A of the First Iowa Cavalry and was with his regiment in the battles of Milford, Prairie Grove, McGuire's Ford, Van Buren, Ark., and in various engagements in western guerrilla warfare. He was promoted to major of his regiment in 1862, and lieutenant colonel in 1863. He left his regiment in 1863 to become chief of scouts for Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, in which capacity he served to the close of the war. He was prominent in the organization of what was known in Iowa as the "Blue Ribbon Club" and was the first president of that organization. He was also a member of the Octogenarian and the Polk County Old Settlers' Association.

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G. W. S.

ADDISON A. STUART was born in the State of Massachusetts, in 1832; he died in Chicago, March 10, 1910. He came to Iowa in childhood. In 1862, he became a member of Company D, 17th Iowa Volunteers, of which he was made first lieutenant. After some months of service he was promoted to the captaincy. Wounded at both Champion Hills and Missionary Ridge, he resigned in February, 1864. On returning to Iowa, he wrote and had published a work entitled, "Iowa Colonels and Regiments." In this book he gave more or less elaborate sketches of ninety-four of the commanding officers of those regiments. His descriptions of battle-scenes are exceptionally vivid.

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W. H. F.

HENRY EVARTS GORDON was born at Auburndale, Mass., September 28, 1855; he died at Iowa City, Iowa, September 18, 1909. He was educated at the Newton high school near Boston, and at Amherst, where he took his degree in 1879. From 1880 to 1896 he was principal of Tillotson Academy, Trinidad, Col., going thence to Colorado College to fill the chair of rhetoric and oratory. He remained there until 1900, when he was elected to the chair of public speaking in the University of Iowa. He was a member of the American Association of Speech Arts, of the Alpha Delta Phi and of Phi Beta Kappa.

EDWIN C. McMILLAN was born in Columbiana county, Ohio, June 8, 1839; he died at Keokuk, Iowa, December 9, 1909. He removed to Indiana where he enlisted in the Sixth Indiana Cavalry, gallantly serving for three years, and when discharged was captain of Company F. At the close of the war, Capt. McMillan engaged in the practice of dentistry at Bowling Green, Indiana, from which place he removed to Albion, Marshall county, Iowa. He served as sheriff of Marshall county for a number of years. In 1878 he was appointed warden of the penitentiary at Ft. Madison, serving in that capacity for six years, and again, after an interval for four years. He was a resident of Marshall county the greater part of his life, but for four years had made his home in Keokuk.

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DANIEL JOHN PATTON was born in Fayette county, Pa., January 27, 1836; he died near Hampton, Iowa, March 14, 1910. He removed to Franklin county, Iowa, in 1869, locating in what is now Ingham township. Ten years later he purchased a farm in Mott township, and there resided for the greater part of the remainder of his life. He was a leading farmer and stock raiser in his county, a strong force in the moulding of opinion and the up-building of his community in every way. In 1900 he was elected to the lower house of the 28th General Assembly, serving again in the 29th.

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EDWARD ENTWISTLE was born March 15, 1815, at Tillsleys Banks, Lancashire, England; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, October 31, 1909. He was apprenticed to the Duke of Bridgewater who had large machine shops at Manchester. It was in these shops that the inventor, Stephenson, built his first locomotive, and a portion of the work on it was done by Mr. Entwistle. When Stephenson took the locomotive for its trial trip, he had Mr. Entwistle attend him as fireman. The "Rocket" drew the first train between Manchester and Liverpool, and for two years Mr. Entwistle as engineer, made two round trips daily. He was transferred on his own request to a coasting steamer owned by the Duke of Bridgewater, and as its engineer remained in that service until he was twenty-two years of age, when he migrated to America. He ran steamboats on the Hudson river, and on the Great Lakes until 1856, when he came to Des Moines, where his home remained the rest of his life. He made a few trips from Des Moines to Keokuk and return during the navigation of the Des Moines river, but for the most part was engaged as a stationary engineer throughout his active years.

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CHARLES M. HARL was born in Sandusky, Ohio, November 13, 1856; he died at Council Bluffs, Iowa, March 1, 1910. John W. Harl, the father of Charles M., removed with his family to Council Bluffs in 1858. The father died three years later and an only brother, Ed, was killed in battle at Helena, Ark. Charles was educated in the Council Bluffs public schools, graduating from the high school in 1874. Entering the office of Caleb Baldwin as a law student, he completed his studies and was admitted to the bar in 1876. He became a member of the firm of Smith and Carson, continuing until 1886

when George Carson was elected to the district bench and the firm became Smith and Harl. Two years later Spencer Smith was elected a member of the state railroad commission and retired from the firm. Shortly thereafter the firm became Burke, Harl and Tinley, with the late Finley Burke and Emmet Tinley as associates with Mr. Harl. At the time of his death Mr. Harl was the senior member of the firm of Harl and Tinley. Mr. Harl served from 1882 to 1887 as secretary of the board of education of Council Bluffs. He was a candidate for Congress before the Republican convention of the 9th Iowa district which named Judge J. R. Reed. He served as first vice-president of the league of Republican clubs of Iowa in the presidential campaign of 1888. He was an active and influential member of the Iowa State Bar Association, and its president in 1909. He was one of the trustees of the Broadway Methodist Church of Council Bluffs.

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WILLIAM INSCO BUCHANAN was born in Covington, Ohio, September 10, 1853; he died in London, England, October 17, 1909. He was educated in the common schools of his native State and was engrossing clerk of the Indiana House of Representatives in 1874-75. He removed to Sioux City, Iowa, in 1882, and was an organizer and manager of the Corn Palace Exposition at that place; a member of the Iowa Commission of the World's Columbian Exposition; was appointed chief of the Department of Agriculture in 1890 and of the live stock and forestry department of the World's Fair in 1891. He was Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Argentine Republic from 1894-1900. He also served as arbitrator on the special commission to fix the boundary between the Chilean and Argentine governments. As such he established the line between latitudes 23° and 26°, 52' 45" north. He was United States delegate to the second Pan-American conference in Mexico in 1902, and was at the head of the United States delegation at the third conference. He was the first United States minister to the republic of Panama. He served as high commissioner on the part of the United States to settle disputes between the United States and Venezuela, and at the time of his death was serving as an agent of the United States for the future arbitration at The Hague of one of the pending Venezuelan questions. Mr. Buchanan was a Democrat and received his appointment as minister to the Argentine Republic from President Cleveland, but maintained his position and won promotions through succeeding Republican administrations. His residence at the time of his death was Buffalo, N. Y.

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GEORGE WILLARD PERKINS was born in Derry, N. H., October 23, 1832; he died at Shenandoah, Iowa, May 1, 1910. He attended the common schools of his native State, removing in 1855 to Weathersfield, Ill., and in 1871 to Fremont county, Iowa, where he acquired land and established his home. He was elected to the state senate in 1890, rendering distinguished service during a four-year term. He was a member of the committees on ways and means and on agriculture. He was appointed railroad commissioner in 1892, and after three years was elected to the same position. During his active service he suffered a stroke of apoplexy from which he never recovered.

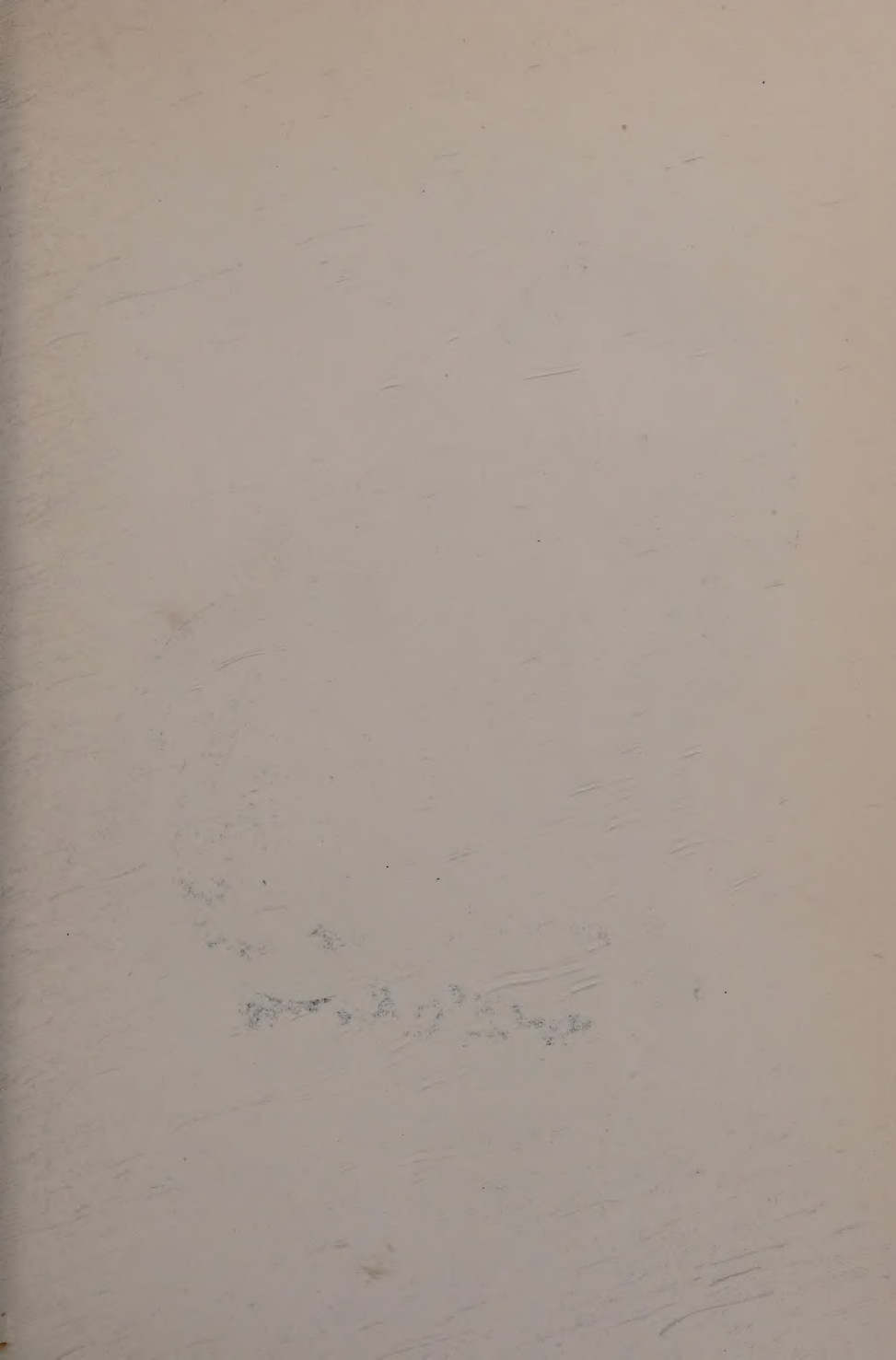


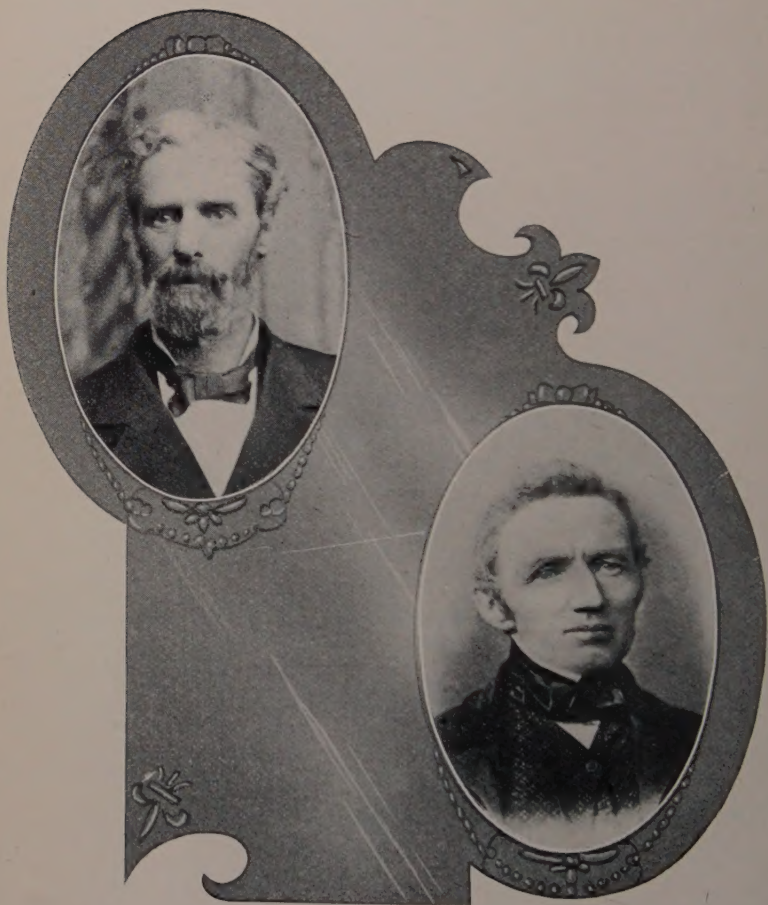
HENRY M. BELVEL was born in Guernsey county, Ohio, June 15, 1842; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Jan. 29, 1910. He attended the common schools of Ohio, removing to Wayne county, Iowa, in 1852. He enlisted August 15, 1862, in Co. F, 34th Iowa Infantry, serving as corporal. He was honorably discharged April 10, 1863. He participated in the siege of Vicksburg, and other engagements in which his regiment took part. In 1868 he entered the newspaper field in Wayne and Decatur counties. He was for a time editor of the *Democrat-Chronicle* of Des Moines, and from November, 1907, to May, 1909, was editor and publisher of the *Grand Army Advocate*. He was secretary of the Iowa State commission created for the purpose of investigating and reporting upon the feasibility of voting machines. He was past commander of Kinsman Post, G. A. R., and during his career held many places in the Iowa Department G. A. R.

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JOHN H. LOOBY was born in Newmarket, Ontario, Canada, Nov. 25, 1835; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Dec. 24, 1909. When twelve years old his father died and he went to live with relatives in Canandaigut, N. Y., where he worked on a farm during the summer, and attended school in the winter. He apprenticed himself for three years to learn the trade of house painting, later going to Rochester to perfect himself in this line of work. In 1856, he removed to Des Moines, Iowa, and began work at his trade. At the first call for volunteers in 1861, he sold out his business and enlisted April 1st, as a private in Company D, Second Iowa Infantry. He was severely wounded at Shiloh, and obliged to leave the service for some weeks. After partial recovery from his wounds, he was commissioned second lieutenant of Company D, 18th Infantry. On account of impaired health he was detailed to detached service, and made acting adjutant of the regiment Sept. 1, 1862, serving until the close of 1863, when he was recommended for promotion to captain. This he declined, having decided to join a colored regiment. He was mustered out of the 18th and commissioned first lieutenant of the 62d U. S. Infantry, and June 3, 1864, was promoted to captain. He was mustered out with his regiment March 31, 1866, at Brownsville, Texas. On May 10th, Congress promoted him to brevet major, as a reward for gallantry, bravery, faithful service and actual worth. After the war he returned to Des Moines and resumed his work as a painter, continuing in this occupation until June 20, 1870. On the death of Adjutant General Baker, Oct. 1, 1876, Mr. Looby was appointed his successor, serving until June 27, 1878. On account of ill health the last years of his life were spent in retirement.







Chairmen of Republican State Convention, Des Moines, Iowa, Jan. 18, 1860.  
Des Moines, Iowa, Jan. 18, 1860.

ED. WRIGHT,  
Temporary Chairman.

W. W. HAMILTON,  
Permanent Chairman.